

The Society for Historians of American
Foreign Relations

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The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Founded in 1967

Chartered in 1972

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MEMBERSHIP: Annual dues are \$20.00 for regular members, \$7.00 for students, and \$9.00 for retired members. A life membership in SHAFR is \$250.00. In the case of membership by husband and wife, dues for one of them shall be one-half of the regular price. Dues are payable at the office of the Executive Secretary-Treasurer. For those wishing only to receive the SHAFR *Newsletter* the cost is \$10.00. Overseas members wishing to receive the *Newsletter* by air mail should remit an additional \$10 per year to the *Newsletter's* editorial offices. Institutions wishing to receive *Diplomatic History* should contact Scholarly Resources.

MEETINGS: The annual meeting of the Society is held in the summer. The Society also meets with the American Historical Association in December, and with the Organization of American Historians in March or April.

PRIZES: The Society administers several awards. Four of them honor the late Stuart L. Bernath and two others honor the late Myrna L. Bernath; these are financed through the generosity of Dr. Gerald J. Bernath. Awards also honor Laura and Norman Graebner, the late W. Stull Holt, the late Warren Kuehl, Robert Ferrell, and Arthur Link. Details of each of these awards are to be found under the appropriate headings in June and December *Newsletters*.

PUBLICATIONS: The Society sponsors a quarterly *Newsletter*; *Diplomatic History*, a journal; and the occasional *Membership Roster and List of Current Research Projects*.

DIPLOMATIC HISTORY AS INTERDISCIPLINARY HISTORY:
A CITATION STUDY OF THE JOURNAL LITERATURE

by

Edward A. Goedecken

PURDUE

For the past fifteen years the journal *Diplomatic History* has served as a major forum for the dissemination of research relating to the foreign relations of the United States. Through the publication of articles, review essays, symposia, and historiographical summaries of current research, *Diplomatic History* has enabled scholars to relate their findings and argue differences of opinion within the pages of this quarterly publication. In a recent book entitled *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, edited by Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, the editors observed that the field of diplomatic history had borrowed insights from other disciplines such as political science and other social sciences, which had led diplomatic historians to reexamine many of their early assumptions and theories.¹

One way to determine the interdisciplinary nature of diplomatic history is to analyze the types of material used to support the narrative. Along with primary and archival sources, historians often use books and journals to augment their narrative. For the purposes of this study, scholarly journals cited in *Diplomatic History* from 1977 (volume 1) to 1991 (volume 15) in articles, reviews, and essays were identified and analyzed.² Contemporary periodicals

¹Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 7. See also, John Lewis Gaddis, "New Conceptual Approaches to the Study of American Foreign Relations: Interdisciplinary Approaches," *Diplomatic History* 14 (Summer 1990): 405-423

²For more on citations studies of history journals see, Jean-Pierre V.M. Herubel, "The Nature of Three History Journals: A Citation Experiment," *Collection Management* 12 (1990): 57-67. Political science journals are

such as *Time* or *Newsweek* were excluded. The focus was on those journals most commonly used as vehicles for scholarly publishing. Five basic categories of journals were determined: history, political science, interdisciplinary, foreign, and other. An interdisciplinary journal was defined as one that either focused on an area, irrespective of discipline, or maintained a multi-methodological approach, or was the official organ of an organization with broad-based interests. The "Other" category contained journals that were subject oriented, but not history or political science, such as the *American Journal of Sociology* or *Psychological Reports*.

Table 1 reports the findings of the citation study.

Table 1

| | # of Titles | % of Total | # of Citations | % of Total |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| History | 119 | 27.4 | 1163 | 57.2 |
| Pol. Sci. | 74 | 17.1 | 470 | 23.1 |
| Interdisc. | 169 | 39.1 | 280 | 13.7 |
| Foreign | 36 | 8.2 | 79 | 3.9 |
| Other | 36 | 8.2 | 42 | 2.1 |
| Totals | 434 | 100.0 | 2034 | 100.0 |

A total of 434 individual journal titles were identified, which yielded 2,034 citations. Although history journals are second to interdisciplinary journals in the number of unique titles cited, they comprise more than half of the citations, with political science second at just over 23%. Nevertheless, interdisciplinary journals make up nearly 40% of the titles and

discussed in William C. Baum, "American Political Science Before the Mirror: What Our Journals Reveal About the Profession," *Journal of Politics* 38 (1976): 895-917.

nearly 14% of the citations and are thus a significant source for the writing of diplomatic history.

Tables 2, 3, and 4 represent the most commonly cited journals by category and by number of times cited.

Table 2 Most Commonly Cited History Journals

| | |
|--|--|
| 359 <i>Diplomatic History</i> | 15 <i>Mississippi Valley Historical Review</i> |
| 139 <i>Journal of American History</i> | 16 <i>Historical Journal</i> |
| 123 <i>American Historical Review</i> | 15 <i>Mid-America</i> |
| 74 <i>Pacific History Review</i> | 15 <i>International History Review</i> |
| 39 <i>Reviews in American History</i> | 14 <i>Journal of Modern History</i> |
| 33 <i>SHAFR Newsletter</i> | 10 <i>Military Affairs</i> |
| 23 <i>HAHR</i> | 10 <i>Perspectives in American History</i> |
| 21 <i>William & Mary Quarterly</i> | 10 <i>Wisconsin Magazine of History</i> |
| 21 <i>Business History Review</i> | |

Table 3 Most Commonly Cited Political Science Journals

| | |
|---|---|
| 63 <i>International Security</i> | 11 <i>Western Political Quarterly</i> |
| 51 <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> | 10 <i>Review of International Studies</i> |
| 48 <i>Foreign Affairs</i> | 9 <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> |
| 37 <i>World Politics</i> | 8 <i>Journal of Politics</i> |
| 23 <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> | 8 <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i> |
| 21 <i>American Political Science Review</i> | 7 <i>Orbis</i> |
| 20 <i>International Affairs</i> | 7 <i>Political Psychology</i> |
| 16 <i>International Organizations</i> | 7 <i>Political Quarterly</i> |
| 15 <i>Foreign Policy</i> | 7 <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> |
| 12 <i>Review of Politics</i> | 6 <i>Studies on the Left</i> |

Table 4 Most Commonly Cited Interdisciplinary Journals

| | |
|--|---|
| 21 <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> | 7 <i>Science and Society</i> |
| 14 <i>Peace and Change</i> | 6 <i>Slavic Review</i> |
| 14 <i>Prologue</i> | 5 <i>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</i> |
| 11 <i>Daedalus</i> | 5 <i>Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists</i> |
| 6 <i>Journal of Latin American Studies</i> | 4 <i>Phylon</i> |

The top twenty titles are listed for history and political science, with Table 4 showing the top ten interdisciplinary titles. One significant finding is that *Diplomatic History* represents nearly 31% of the total history journals citations, and 17.6% of all citations. This could reflect either the fundamental importance of the journal to the sub-field of diplomatic history, or the possibility that research on foreign relations relies extensively on a relatively closed circle of secondary journal sources. Or perhaps a combination of the two. A decade from now it would be instructive to examine *Diplomatic History* again to see if it is still heavily cited. Table 5 represents the most heavily cited *Diplomatic History* articles. It should be noted that those of historiographical nature lead the rest.

Table 5 *Diplomatic History* Articles Cited Most Often

| Number of Times Cited | Title |
|-----------------------|--|
| ---- | ----- |
| 12 | Hogan, Michael J. "Corporatism: A Positive Appraisal," 10 (1986): 363-72. |
| 11 | Thorne, Christopher. "After the Europeans: American Designs for the Remaking of Southeast Asia," 12 (1988): 201-208. |
| 11 | Gaddis, John Lewis. "The Corporatist Synthesis: A Skeptical View," 10 (1986): 357-62. |
| 10 | Gaddis, John Lewis. "The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War," 7 (1983): 171-90. |

- 10 Iriye, Akira. "Culture and Power: International Relations as Intercultural Relations," 3 (1979): 115-28.
- 9 Hunt, Michael H., et al. "Symposium: Responses to Charles S. Maier, 'Marking Time: The Historiography of International Relations,'" 5 (1981): 354-82.
- 9 Marks, Sally. "The World According to Washington," 11 (1987): 265-82.
- 8 Walker, William O, III. "Drug Control and the Issue of Culture in American Foreign Relations," 12 (1988): 365-82.
- 7 Cohen, Warren I. "The History of American-East Asian Relations: Cutting Edge of the Historical Profession," 9 (1985): 101-12.
- 7 Holsti, Ole R. "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy," 13 (1989): 15-43.
- 7 Lilley, Charles R., and Michael H. Hunt. "On Social History, the State, and Foreign Relations: Commentary on 'The Cosmopolitan Connection,'" 11 (1987): 243-50.
- 6 Haines, Gerald K. "Under the Eagle's Wing: The Franklin Roosevelt Administration Forges an American Hemisphere," 1 (1977): 373-88.
- 5 Hogan, Michael J. "The Search for a 'Creative Peace': The United States, European Unity, and the Origins of the Marshall Plan," 6 (1982): 267-85.
- 4 Hogan, Michael J. "Revival and Reform: America's Twentieth-Century Search for a New Economic Order Abroad," 8 (1984): 287-310.
- 4 Keefer, Edward C. "President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the End of the Korean War," 10 (1986): 267-89.
- 4 Gardner, Lloyd C., et al. "Response to John Lewis Gaddis, 'The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War,'" 7 (1983): 191-204.
- 4 Rabe, Stephen G. "Marching Ahead (Slowly): The Historiography of Inter-American Relations," 13 (1989): 297-316.
- 4 Trask, Roger R. "The Impact of the Cold War on United States-Latin American Relations, 1945-1949," 1 (1977): 271-84.
- 4 Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf. "American Policy toward Sino-Japanese Trade in the Postwar Years: Politics and Prosperity," 8 (1984): 183-208.

Another interesting feature of this study revealed the small number of foreign language journals cited. The recent desire by one writer that future diplomatic historians be “not only proficient but fluent in two or three languages,” to broaden the research basis of the discipline is to be applauded.³ Table 1 shows that foreign journals represented 8.2% of the titles, and only 3.9% of the citations. Table 6 breaks these totals down by language group. Traditional multi-archival research will need to be complemented by examining the journal literature in other languages as well.

Table 6 Foreign Journals

| <i>Language</i> | <i># of Citations</i> | <i># of Titles</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| French | 19 | 10 |
| German | 17 | 11 |
| Italian | 26 | 6 |
| Portuguese | 2 | 1 |
| Russian | 11 | 5 |
| Spanish | 5 | 3 |
| | ----- | ----- |
| Totals | 79 | 36 |

One final observation is the small contribution of women scholars to the field of diplomatic history. A simple count of authors for the first fifteen volumes of *Diplomatic History* revealed that out of a total of 262 authors, only twenty were women, which equals 7.6% of the total. Recent demographic data for the general fields of history and political science indicated that 19% of political scientists

³Richard H. Immerman, “The History of U.S. Foreign Policy: A Plea for Pluralism,” *Diplomatic History* 14 (Fall 1990): 577.

and nearly 33% of historians were women.⁴ Diplomatic history joins military history as a sub-field heavily dominated by men.⁵

This citation analysis has shown that diplomatic history is indeed an interdisciplinary field, dominated by English language sources, by men, and by the official journal of SHAFR. Trends seem to indicate, however, that as the contemporary study of foreign relations matures it will become more international and multi-lingual.⁶ Over the past fifteen years *Diplomatic History* has provided a respectable forum for practicing historians of foreign relations to exchange ideas and share their research results. Broadening its research base into multi-lingual and multi-disciplinary areas will only serve to strengthen an already solid field of historical scholarship.

⁴Data on women in political science is from Michael Brintnall, "Affirmative Action: Women and Minorities in the Profession," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 25 (March 1992): 107; history data is from phone conversation with membership division of American Historical Association headquarters in Washington, D.C., May 26, 1992. The figure of 33% is mirrored by the 32.9% of women completing doctorates in history in 1990 cited in James B. Gardner, "Number of New Ph.D.s Up in 1990, But Growth Appears Stalled," *AHA Perspectives* 29 (December 1991): 10.

⁵A recent analysis of dissertations completed in military history between 1973 and 1988 also discovered that in the journal *Military Affairs* for the same period 3.4% of the authors were women. For this see, Edward A. Goedeken and Jean-Pierre V.M. Herubel, "Dissertations in Military History, 1973-1988: A Survey and Analysis," *Journal of Military History* 56 (October 1992), forthcoming.

⁶For a recent historiographical overview see, Michael H. Hunt, "The Long Crisis in U.S. Diplomatic History," *Diplomatic History* 16 (Winter 1992): 115-140.

ARCHIVES II USA: MOVING TO THE LARGEST ARCHIVES BUILDING IN THE WORLD

by

Peter Beck

KINGSTON POLYTECHNIC, SURREY

[Professor Beck forwarded a copy of his essay which appeared in *Push Newsletter*, published in Great Britain. The practical information contained therein might be of substantial use for our international members. — editor]

For any historian, research trips to overseas archives occur at infrequent intervals. Hence, each visit tends to be rather different from those made previously. My recent visit to the United States National Archives at Washington DC, though generally resembling several previous visits, was no exception to this trend.

Many features continued. These included the lengthy opening hours enabling the diligent researcher to work from morn to night (0845-2200 hours) on weekdays and a large part of Saturday, the ability to order two trucks containing substantial quantities of documentary materials, the availability of cheap D.I.Y. xeroxing facilities in the research room, the generally helpful attitude of the reference archivists, and the occasionally unfriendly, even hostile, attitude of the gun-toting research room security staff.¹ For State Department files, the practice of releasing materials in 5 years periods continues. Thus, records for the period 1954-59 have taken time to become available; indeed, certain 1954-59 files had to be specifically requested for clearance prior to my recent visit.

But certain things had changed. A welcome innovation concerned the facility to book xerox machines for one hour slots to copy materials in bulk. On the minus side, the time taken to retrieve

¹See note in **Announcements**, September 1992 issue of *SHAFR Newsletter*, regarding the Library of Congress Manuscript Reading Room closing on Saturdays. — editor

orders appears to have increased considerably. Past examples of 20-30 minute retrievals appear to have been replaced by lengthy delays, sometimes exceeding two hours (as in my case). Pressure on space, particularly in the microfilm reading room, was more apparent, a factor accentuated by the large number of people seeking to consult the recently released 1920 census records.

However, the most significant change has yet to come. Any visitor to the basement snack bar could not fail to miss the wall display of plans and photographs of the construction work for Archives II, a new building to which a wide range of research materials, including State Department records, will be transferred during the mid-1990s.

British researchers working on American topics are probably familiar with the impressive neoclassical building located between the White House and the Capitol on Pennsylvania Avenue in downtown Washington. The National Archives building contains over 4 billion pieces of paper and 7 million still pictures. However, the United States National Archives is more than the material housed in Washington, for it covers also a growing number of presidential libraries - the Reagan Library was opened in California during the past year - 12 regional archives and 14 record centres. The presidential libraries, as listed below, are of interest to British researchers in terms of not only their source materials but also the availability of limited amounts of fiscal support for research. Certainly, for my research, visits to the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park (New York State) and the Eisenhower Library at Abilene (Kansas) proved academically rewarding, while offering locations worth a place on any tourist itinerary.

Visitors to Washington have additional research opportunities, such as in interviewing American officials or consulting relevant American academics based at Georgetown, George Washington and other nearby universities.

Plans for Archives II

During the late 1980s the National Archives, having assessed its future needs in the light of a growing space problem, announced

plans for Archives II, a new six-story building to be located in a park-like setting at College Park, University of Maryland. The project will cost some \$250 m.

Construction began in 1990, and is scheduled for completion in Autumn 1993. The new 1.7 million square foot building - this is double the size of the Pennsylvania Avenue building - will represent the largest archives building in the world, while providing, it is claimed, 'state of the art' archival storage, reference and laboratory facilities serving about 50,000 scholars annually.

Archives II will operate alongside, rather than in place of, the existing building. There will be different areas of focus. The Washington building will remain the location for the records of Congress and the Supreme Court, genealogical materials (census, veterans administration, land entry), passport applications, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Navy, and the Army prior to the Second World War. Other textual records, most notably, State Department, Second World War and Vietnam records, together with special media material (eg. still and motion pictures, maps) will be transferred to Archives II. The occasion is also being employed to re-examine the allocation of regional archives. There are arrangements for academic exchange and cooperation between Archives II and the University of Maryland, including provisions for funding fellowships.

The temporary closure of records being transferred to Archives II

In the long term research facilities for scholars should be considerably enhanced, but the transfer of materials during 1994-96 is bound to cause short-term inconvenience for researchers. There is a rolling schedule for moving records to Archives II. According to the National Archives

— individual files will be closed for a 'limited period' only. 'The majority of record groups will be closed for no more than one month';

— 'Researchers should not have to greatly alter their research programs or plans because of the move'.

However, the move of the British Library highlights the ability of the best-laid plans to go awry.

During the transfer process telephone recordings will be employed by the National Archives to provide up-to-date information on the location of records. British researchers are advised to write or phone to ensure that the records to be consulted will be available at the time of their planned visit. It is also clear that transfer procedures will take precedence over other activities. For instance, my request, submitted after my recent visit, to read certain State Department documents covering the late 1950s elicited the reply that review will have to wait the transfer.

Contact Points:

National Archives, Washington DC 20408, USA

Phone: (202) 501-5525; (202) 501-5400 [Add International and USA Codes]

Presidential libraries operated by the National Archives are:

Herbert Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York

Harry S. Truman Library, Boston, Massachusetts

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas

John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts

Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas

Gerald R. Ford, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Jimmy Carter Library, Atlanta, Georgia

Ronald Reagan Library, Simi Valley, California

Nixon Presidential Materials Staff, Alexandria, Virginia (the Nixon Library at Yorba Linda, California, is not part of the National Archives system).

Information:

Prologue (published by the National Archives, and including useful news on archives, presidential libraries, and research grants).

Archives II Research Bulletin (published occasionally by the National Archives).

Accommodation for visitors to National Archives in Washington DC

Hotels in Washington are relatively expensive and heavily booked at certain periods of the year. It is advisable to reserve accommodation before arrival (and to use a credit card to cover arrival after 6pm). Certain universities provide accommodation during vacation periods (see Jay Norman, *Peterson's Directory of College Accommodation*, Peterson's, Princeton, New Jersey). Some British colleges have address lists of cheap accommodation in Washington. Accessible and reasonably priced hotels include:

Hotel Harrington, 11th. and E Streets NW, Washington DC.
(only a few blocks from the Archives - \$59-\$65 per night)

Phone (202) 628-8140

Days Inn Downtown, 1201 K Street NW (\$68)

Phone (202) 842-1020

Best Western Downtown, 347 3rd. Street NW (\$68)

Phone (202) 842-4466

The above rates are seasonal, subject to change, and taxable.

Visiting Archives II

Archives II will have new accommodation needs and possibly necessitate a rental car. Out-of-town motels are cheaper, while the University of Maryland (unlisted in the above-mentioned *Peterson's Guide*) may offer accommodation, especially in vacations. Those preferring to stay downtown Washington will have public transport access to Archives II. The excellent and cheap underground/Metro system is being extended to Prince George Plaza, from where the Archives will operate a shuttle service for researchers.

JOURNALISTS AND POLICYMAKERS:
A 1950s AND 1960s RETROSPECTIVE

by
Robert H. Estabrook

[Robert H. Estabrook (1918-) delivered a longer version of the following to the University of Connecticut Foreign Policy Seminar on February 8, 1991. Estabrook spent 25 years (1946-71) at *The Washington Post* as an editorial writer, editor of the editorial page, London correspondent, chief foreign correspondent, and the United Nations and Canada correspondent. He has made journalistic visits to 75 countries, including Vietnam and Angola. His editorial writing during the McCarthy era won him the Sigma Delta Chi Award. Estabrook is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and his papers are housed at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library. — Thomas G. Paterson]

My primary assignment here is to talk about the interaction of policymakers and journalists. It has long been the assumption in Washington that although in some respects these two groups are adversaries, they do have important converging interests in informing the public and explaining policy. Hence that well-known Washington institution, the backgrounder. I can't speak for the current incarnation, but in my time it was a useful device for understanding situations about which officials did not wish to be quoted publicly.

My assignment on the editorial page rarely led me to attend actual news conferences, although I did attend an occasional meeting with Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy as well as with Secretaries of State John Foster Dulles and Dean Rusk. I also was given the charm treatment by Lyndon Johnson, but that is another story. I sat on a great many backgrounders, though, and usually if not invariably found them helpful.

Parenthetically, let me interject a note about an Eisenhower news conference. Ike, as some of you may know, had a habit of interrupting himself in mid-thought and going off in another

direction. When you were in the room with him, you rarely were in doubt about what he meant; there was a sort of non-verbal transfer of ideas. But if you wanted to check your notes with the official transcript that came out an hour or two after the conference, heaven help you in trying to parse some of the sentences.

Well, that was Eisenhower, whose training was as a military man; but John Kennedy was known as a great stylist. So you would attend his news conferences, know pretty well precisely what he meant, and wait for the official transcript to confirm your understanding. Lo and behold, Kennedy too interrupted himself in mid-thought and produced some syntactical tangles that rivaled Eisenhower's. So much for presidential stream of thought.

The late Ernest Lindley was a columnist for *Newsweek* and a Washington institution for more than a generation. When he was the president of the Overseas Writers, an organization of working journalists who had traveled abroad, he devised what was called the Lindley Rule of compulsory plagiarism. You were free to use what a speaker said for background, but only as if you had thought of it yourself, with no attribution that could be traced to the source. Obviously this rule carried with it a hazard that an unsophisticated or unsuspecting journalist could be used to float a trial balloon that could be disavowed in case it didn't fly. Obviously too, no official was going to impart state secrets or even very sensitive information to a group that might number up to a hundred journalists. But in general the backgrounder was (and I suppose still is) a useful institution for conveying a better understanding of policy and the reasons behind it.

Of course, such familiar journalistic figures as Walter Lippmann and James B. (Scotty) Reston, both of whom I knew, rarely attended background conferences. Their contacts were good enough so that they could call or visit particular high officials on a basis of mutual exchange to get the information they wanted. But for lesser mortals the backgrounder could be a godsend.

A more intimate ambiance was the institutional luncheon. At *The Washington Post* the publisher or another editor or I would invite individual high-level officials in to be grilled. Philip Graham was the publisher in those years, and no one refused Phil Graham. He

had an irreverent manner that disarmed most guests. Discussion often was very frank, again with the understanding that the information would be used as leads for stories or editorials, but not attributed directly without permission. I remember Richard Nixon, who was then Vice President, mentioning about 1954 the possible need to use American ground troops in Vietnam.

Then there were the small group dinners. Max Freedman of the *Manchester Guardian* and I had a small dinner group numbering perhaps seven or eight persons, most of them representatives of respected foreign publications such as *The Guardian* or *The Observer* or *Die Welt* or the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* or *Dagens Nyheter*. We would invite interesting figures to talk frankly over drinks and dinner. I can remember several dinners with a young senator named John F. Kennedy; on one occasion he borrowed cab fare from me, and I haven't had the brass to bill his estate. Usually after such a session I would write a confidential memo about what had been said and circulate it among news and editorial executives for guidance. I also followed this policy as a foreign correspondent.

The individual appointment or luncheon also was a tool. Journalistic luncheons in Washington and at the United Nations are mercenary affairs; the rules are not written but are well understood. Often we used the Metropolitan Club or Cosmos Club to invite a particular official or ambassador to share what was on his mind; my employer was understanding about this use of an expense account. Sometimes I would ask for an appointment to learn about particular situations. I got to know such key senators as William Fulbright and Mike Mansfield well enough to seek their insights.

On one occasion George Ball called me to the State Department when he was Under Secretary and showed me an album full of his recommendations on Vietnam. I was still enough of a hawk not to rise to the bait, although in retrospect it might have been better if I had. On another occasion I took the Danish permanent representative to the United Nations to lunch. He gave me the tip for a story about Operation Marigold. North Vietnam had ostensibly agreed to peace talks with the United States in December of 1966 but the process was queered by American bombing of Hanoi.

There also was the diplomatic circuit in Washington and London. Your presence on the invitation list to embassy receptions and dinners was a direct reflection of what someone judged to be the importance of your job; the criterion was not, unfortunately your scintillating personality. At receptions and dinners you might pick up a tidbit you would relay to the news staff or use as background for a piece you were doing. At dinners the information might be more substantial. Once in London I learned during dinner discussion that the man regarded as the principal Soviet spy in the United Kingdom had been asked to leave; I used this with no attribution ("It was learned on good authority"). My office was good about this when I explained the circumstances. There was a great flap in the Foreign Office and investigation of the leak. I never acknowledged that the source was the Minister of Defense, who may or may not have intended the fact to get out to the Americans. He never reproached me.

On another occasion a French official I had known in Washington invited me to come to his office in Paris. He evidently thought his office secure from bugging, because he proceeded to tell me of the likelihood that President de Gaulle would withdraw France from NATO command. This was so sensitive that I flew back to London and wrote it under a London dateline to avoid pointing the finger at Paris. A week or so later I was a guest at a NATO dinner in London attended by this official. Our eyes met, but not the slightest acknowledgment of recognition passed between us.

But another result of participation in the diplomatic circuit was that I got to know individual ambassadors, and sometimes I could develop a relationship of mutual trust by going to see them and by entertaining them occasionally in our home. These contacts made in Washington later proved very useful in London and other capitals as well as at the United Nations. On one occasion in Sweden when I was covering Khrushchev's visit to Scandinavia, Gunnar Jarring, who had been Swedish ambassador in Washington, motioned to me while Khrushchev and Prime Minister Tage Erlander were inspecting some sort of installation. During a short private walk, Jarring proceeded to tell me how Khrushchev had sought to bully and intimidate his Swedish hosts. It served a Swedish purpose to

get this information known in Washington, but it also gave me a good journalistic exclusive. This was the same Gunnar Jarring who later became United Nations mediator in the Middle East. I respected his need in that situation to be considerably less forthcoming.

But I digress. I started to talk about personalities in the 1950s and 1960s. I never knew John Foster Dulles well, but on the occasions when I met with him he seemed to radiate a sanctimoniousness I found distasteful. On one occasion he refused to shake hands with Chou En-lai at a meeting on Indochina in Geneva because he regarded Chou as the representative of evil. He was the author of what came to be known as brinkmanship on the basis of an article he wrote for *Life* -- the ability to skirt the brink of war so as to impress your adversary without falling off. It appeared to work in a couple of instances regarding Quemoy and Matsu in the 1950s, but not with Saddam Hussein in 1990-1991.

Dulles was criticized for what a mentor of mine, Herbert Elliston, called "pactomania" -- the idea that signing up nations around the time of Communist power, especially in Asia, would provide a shield of security. I was never convinced this would work, especially after visiting much of Asia in 1957. Dulles also was an improviser. I recall being at dinner with him at Phil Graham's house during the Suez crisis in 1956. He had invented something called the Suez Canal Users' Association to bring pressure on Nasser after the charismatic Egyptian leader had nationalized the Suez Canal but before the British-French-Israeli invasion. The association had started to come apart at the seams, and at this particular dinner Dulles appeared to be almost desperate for some stratagem to fend off the looming invasion.

By contrast his brother, Allen Dulles, the director of the Central Intelligence agency, seemed to me notably unsanctimonious, a sort of all-round good fellow who could tell a funny story with a twinkling eye while puffing on his pipe. Of course he didn't tell you all he knew. He was notorious for leaks, most of which I suspect were intentional; practically everyone in Washington knew that the CIA had upset Mossadegh and placed the Shah back on the throne of Iran in 1953 and had overthrown a supposedly leftist

government in Guatemala the following year. But Allen Dulles also could be very helpful in giving an assessment or imparting particular information. I once asked him about the bonafides of Hans Gisevius, a German who worked with Dulles in Switzerland during World War II and had been marginally involved in the plot against Hitler; Dulles spoke highly of his trustworthiness, and this was helpful in my own contacts with Gisevius.

I saw Dean Rusk in a number of situations when he was Secretary of State under Kennedy and Johnson (he also had been Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs in the Truman Administration at the time of the Communist takeover in China). Rusk was one of the most straightlaced men I ever met. He was a true believer in the cold war and the rightness of American policy in Vietnam; and whatever his afterthoughts, he never wavered as long as I saw him. I had several unfortunate encounters.

Once when I was covering a NATO meeting in Paris, Bob Manning, the assistant secretary of state for public affairs, briefed correspondents about Rusk having asked NATO foreign ministers to be aware of the sensitivity of Khrushchev's position at that particular time. I also had talked to other sources, and I wrote that Rusk had importuned the ministers to show awareness of this sensitivity. Somehow on the foreign desk, without my knowledge, the language got changed to "virtually pleaded with." The next afternoon at a meeting with correspondents, Rusk singled this out as an example of irresponsible reporting. I was mystified because I had not seen the story as it appeared; when I found out I protested strongly and threatened to resign. The foreign editor apologized and promised to explain personally to Rusk what had happened, but Rusk never trusted me after that.

On another occasion at the United Nations I had written a story about the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, or Vietcong, having sought to send a delegation to the General Assembly but having had the idea rejected by the United States. I got the initial tip from Polish sources but I checked it carefully with U Thant through a friend (as I also had checked the story on Operation Marigold). Thant would not leak information but he had the heart of a journalist (he was one once), and he was extremely helpful in

corroborating a story you got from other sources. Anyhow, the story appeared and the American mission to the United Nations promptly denied it. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco, who had said categorically it wasn't true when I called him about it, telephoned later to ask that I tell Ambassador Arthur Goldberg (who was the U.S. permanent representative) that he, Sisco, had not been my source. I happened to pass Rusk in the hall, and he growled: "Why don't you get the Poles to tell you the rest of the story?" This struck me as ironic, because no U.S. official would say anything about the story thereby forcing journalists to get their information from foreign sources. Finally a couple of days later Ambassador Goldberg called a news conference to confirm the broad outlines of the story that had been denied.

Goldberg, incidentally never gave away secrets but was often a good source for background when he trusted you. He came to the U.N. from the Supreme Court at the behest of Lyndon Johnson, hoping that with his background as a labor negotiator his personal diplomacy might bring about a breakthrough with Vietnam. He intimated to me several times that he felt frustrated, the implication being that he was frustrated by presidential policy. When he left in the spring of 1968 he must have wondered whether it had been worth giving up his real interest, which had been the Supreme Court.

On another occasion involving Arthur Goldberg, I felt victimized, although not necessarily by him. Ambassador Goldberg called me to a private meeting with Nicholas Katzenbach, then deputy secretary of state. This was in 1968, and the U.S. government was much concerned about the so-called spy ship *Pueblo* then being held by North Korea. Katzenbach swore me to secrecy, then asked me to perform a mission of what we would today call disinformation on behalf of the United States government. He wanted me to get into a conversation with the Hungarian permanent representative to the U.N., and to make the casual observation that the United States really didn't care very much about the *Pueblo*. Of course the U.S. did care, mightily. I went away with my adrenalin pumped up, feeling that I would win a merit badge for patriotism. I was

flattered, until I thought seriously about it later, that the U.S. government had this confidence in my powers as a diplomat.

Anyhow, I sought out the Hungarian ambassador at a social function, made general conversation and then dropped the remark. But either I was extraordinarily skillful at appearing casual or he was unusually dense, because there was no indication then or later that he caught the import of what I was saying. That made me feel better in retrospect, because I came to believe that I had been asked to do a monstrous thing as a journalist, something that violated my own code of responsibility and ethics. It made me feel unclean. The two jobs simply do not mix. A conscientious journalist cannot play official and he cannot play God; when he pretends to be something other than what he is, he violates his trust, and he impairs confidence in all journalists. End of sermon.

I mentioned having talked with John Kennedy at several dinners with other correspondents. Once I almost had a national scoop involving him. I attended my first political conventions in Chicago in 1956, as an observer from the editorial page. At the Democratic convention one great question was whom Adlai Stevenson, the candidate who won renomination, would choose as his running mate. Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, who had contended for the presidential nomination after winning national fame through the Senate crime hearings, made a strong play for the second position. A dark horse, though, was the young Democratic senator from Massachusetts, Jack Kennedy. Which, or whom, would Stevenson choose?

I was walking down a hotel corridor near where the mighty were gathered when I saw Wilson Wyatt emerge from a room where we thought Stevenson was. Wyatt was the mayor of Louisville and a favored figure in Americans for Democratic Action. I had met him a few times. "Has he made his choice?" I asked, hoping for illumination. "He has made his decision," Wyatt responded. To be sure of what I was hearing, I said again; "Yes, but has he made his choice." "I told you," Wyatt replied, "he has made his decision."

This of course meant that Stevenson had decided to choose neither but to allow an open convention to select the vice presidential

nominee. I was, and am, no political expert, but I telephoned the national desk in Washington to report what I had heard. Events soon overtook the news I had relayed, and my scoop was destined to be inscribed only in my non-existent memoirs. But at least for a few minutes I knew something that some of the politicians didn't yet know.

Four years later, in 1960, I attended the Democratic convention in Los Angeles at which Kennedy was nominated. It was an interesting situation for a member of the editorial staff of *The Washington Post*. Publisher Phil Graham was deeply involved in Presidential politics. He was purporting to advise Kennedy and later boasted of having been the bridge between Lyndon Johnson and Kennedy; Phil at least thought that he persuaded Bobby Kennedy to ask Johnson to be his brother's running-mate. Meanwhile Phil Graham's mother-in-law Agnes Meyer, the widow of Eugene Meyer, who had built *The Post* in its modern incarnation, made no secret of her strong advocacy of a third candidacy for Adlai Stevenson and was maneuvering hard for him to get the nod if there was a deadlock. All this made it sometimes difficult to keep an even keel.

I won't pretend that I knew John Kennedy well, and this is not the occasion for an appraisal of his presidency. I did participate as a journalist in the first Food for Peace mission to South America, as the result, I was told, of a suggestion from Kennedy to Phil Graham. The mission consisted of George McGovern, previously a Democratic congressman from South Dakota; historian Arthur Schlesinger, who was an assistant in the White House; State Department representative Clare Boonstra; and me. A chummy group. We spent most of our time in Brazil, with a harrowing visit to a famine area in the northeast. In Pernambuco we observed to our dismay that without effective technical assistance, a distribution system and the help of the climate, mere onetime gifts of food or money only complicated the problem of the government. In any case, to me the haunting eyes of starving children in northeast Brazil seemed to me worse than anything I had seen in Calcutta.

Shortly thereafter came the Bay of Pigs. Indirectly this began my exodus as editor of the editorial page, because I wrote a critical

piece that Phil Graham didn't like and he pulled it from the paper without telling me. A few months later I found myself a foreign correspondent, which was one of the best things that ever happened to me. At this distance I am not certain what the offending editorial was about. It may, however, have involved a development that was illustrative of the muscular methods of the early Kennedy administration. The President's military aide, Maj. Gen. Ted Clifton, telephoned me to impart some information about developments in Cuba following the invasion abetted by the United States. I had known Ted when he was aide to Gen. Omar Bradley, and I trusted him. Presumably to confuse Fidel Castro, he told me a line of deliberate falsehoods which I then used in an editorial. Whether Ted had the President's encouragement in planting the misinformation or undertook it on his own initiative I never found out, but I never trusted him again.

One of the engaging qualities about Kennedy, though, was that he learned from his mistakes. He confided, I believe to Scotty Reston of *The New York Times*, that the experience with the Bay of Pigs had persuaded him not to intervene in Laos as he was being urged to do by the military in mid-1961. About this time, you may remember, Kennedy met with Khrushchev and the latter was thought to have concluded that he could bully the new President.

Incidentally, later that year Gen. Lucius Clay told me in Berlin he had felt strongly that the Russians would have given way on the erection of the Berlin wall if the U.A. had simply sent vehicles through at the time. U.A. intelligence learned that the East German police had been issued only blank rounds.

In August, 1961, on the eve of my assignment to Europe, I spent 45 minutes in a personal interview with Kennedy. My memorandum discloses several points of interest. One was that he was extremely displeased with military staff work over Laos and blamed in particular Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, the chairman of the joint Chiefs of Staff who soon was moved out of the way, in Rooseveltian fashion, to become commander of NATO. Another was that Kennedy felt that Chester Bowles was an impossible administrator and could not remain as Rusk's deputy in the State Department (he became ambassador to India, much admired there).

The third item of interest was his response when I asked him his most startling discovery since he had been in the White House. "How small is the power of the President of the United States to influence the course of events," he replied.

Kennedy of course was an insatiable reader of newspapers. Whether or not this was the full story, I was told that a column I had written induced Kennedy to ask George Ball to change his tactics. In the State Department Ball was a strong advocate of the European Common Market as an extension of NATO. He went so far as to have American Ambassador Jeff Parsons tell the Swedes in effect that they could not join because they were neutral. This tough line was having a counterproductive effect, and I wrote from Stockholm about some of the problems.

I last saw Kennedy during his tour of Europe in the summer of 1963. The most memorable part was his speech in Berlin when he intoned, "Ich bin ein Berliner" to an incredibly responsive audience; young boys were hanging from trees and there was weeping everywhere. The emotion was palpable.

During the Johnson administration I had only one personal encounter with the President. Phil Graham was close to Lyndon Johnson. I had known him casually when he was majority leader of the Senate during the late 1950s and had been subjected to the charm treatment on one occasion when he asked me to meet with him at his office. This was during consideration of one of the early civil rights bills. Unfortunately, I did not keep a memorandum, but I recall a conversation that went something like this: "Bawb, why are you against me?" "Why, Senator," I replied, "editorially we've supported you on at least 80 per cent of the issues." "That's what I mean," he rejoined. "Why are you against me?" I also remember him telling me that once blacks ("Nigras," he called them) had the assured right to vote, other rights would take care of themselves.

After Arthur Goldberg resigned as U.S. representative to the U.N., George Ball served briefly as Johnson's ambassador. I admire George Ball's wisdom and ability, especially his association with Jean Monnet in the evolution of the European Common Market; but George can come on strong and he was miscast in the

U.N. post during the Vietnam war when he personally had grave doubts about Administration policy. After a couple of months he resigned and used the U.S. mission as the forum for making what I regarded as a highly partisan statement even though I agreed with many of his observations.

But George Ball could be a highly entertaining fellow. On one occasion in 1964 I had gone to Cyprus to report what I could of the U.S. efforts to mediate the incipient civil war between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Ball had been sent to intervene with Archbishop Makarios, the somewhat byzantine president who was simultaneously a high cleric in the Greek Orthodox Church. Following a day or so of rather fuzzy negotiation, Ball terminated the effort and invited several other correspondents and me to ride back to Ankara and Athens with him on the President's plane, Air Force 1. Ball was not hesitant about discussing the frustrations of negotiating with a purported man of God. Over the third scotch, he recounted that at one point he had caught himself banging the table and exclaiming: "For God's sake, Your Beatitude, be realistic!" I have always thought that one of the great lines of diplomacy.

Inasmuch as I have been commenting on individual policymakers, perhaps this is a good time to mention several U.S. ambassadors. It has been my privilege to know many fine foreign service officers. As a group I think they give unusually devoted and intelligent representation to their country, sometimes under extremely adverse conditions. But two of the ablest ambassadors I have known have been political appointees.

One was David Bruce, a Maryland and Virginia gentleman who was U.S. ambassador to Britain during my time in London. David Bruce had had foreign service training, but he also had a background in law, business and the legislature, as well as wartime service with the Office of Strategic Services and later service in the Marshall Plan, in the State Department and as ambassador to Germany. He overlaid all of this with courtly manners and extraordinary insight. I always viewed David Bruce as a truly wise man. When I would go to see him, he knew I was not seeking spot news, and so he would talk philosophically about events, in historical context. It was a treat. I thought him extremely good in

holding a close relationship with Britain during the Cuban missile crisis after the Kennedy Administration had been notably insensitive to the political problems of Prime Minister Macmillan and had bruised the feelings of the Tory leadership by downplaying the British special relationship with the U.S.

The other non-career ambassador I especially admired was Ellsworth Bunker, who combined the finesse of a professional with the warmth of a politician. This ramrod-straight, patrician Vermonter with a background as a sugar executive was ambassador to India when I first met him in 1957. He had an ability to understand third world concerns and to relate to people unpretentiously. He mediated the dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands. I next saw him in action in the Dominican Republic in early 1966, shortly after he had been sent there as the U.S. representative to the Organization of American States to try to extricate the OAS peace force that had been hastily gathered following Lyndon Johnson's dispatch of U.S. marines to fend off a supposed invasion threat from Cuba. Bunker appeared unflappable in the tangles of Latin politics. He lost some of his luster in an impossible job as ambassador to Vietnam during the height of the war there, but I continue to think of him as an extraordinarily effective representative of the best of the United States.

Incidentally, in announcing the dispatch of U.S. marines to the Dominican Republic, President Johnson made an emotional broadcast relating that the American ambassador had had to shield himself under his desk to fend off his bullets. I happened to know the ambassador, Tapley Bennett, who told me during a visit a couple of months later that Johnson's histrionics were based very largely on fiction.

When I was a foreign correspondent, I often went to the United States embassy in a particular country for a briefing on the general situation so I could ask better questions of foreign officials I might be interviewing. Sometimes I also sought out the CIA mission chief when I could identify him. I had no hesitation about this, because it was a matter of give and take. Often I was asked my impressions of a particular situation, and I was glad to comply so long as I did not repeat something that had been given me in confidence. What

I'm trying to say is that American diplomats, particularly in the number two or number three position in an embassy, could be extraordinarily helpful to American reporters, and I found their insights indispensable. This was especially the case with representatives of the U.S. Information Service of USIA, because they had connections with people in the local press.

Visiting correspondents sometimes have an advantage over resident correspondents, especially in authoritarian countries because they are able to write freely about situations they encounter, and at least send the story from the next country. The resident correspondent, by contrast, can be expelled if the host government disapproves of what he writes, an unpleasant and costly business. No one I knew wrote falsely or withheld major information on this account; but several did not write all they knew because they thought it more important to remain on the spot for a larger developing story. By the way, in Eastern Europe I found local jealousies to be such that the government cable and telegraph services would let you say anything you wanted to say about a fellow Communist country.

I wish my travels as a journalist would let me contribute some bit of eternal wisdom about the Middle East and Persian Gulf; I know just enough to realize that I don't know anything. I once had an interview with King Hussein of Jordan, whom the American ambassador described as having the mentality of a jet fighter pilot. I could readily believe it, but he also has proved to be a skilled tightrope walker. He has made a wrong guess once or twice, but basically he is trapped by his geography. I can't believe he regards Saddam Hussein as anything but a new Al Capone.

I did stop in Iraq in 1964, and I can say without hesitation that Baghdad was the most unpleasant capital I have ever visited. Tanks ringed the downtown square -- more tanks than I have seen anywhere, with those around Papa Doc's palace in Haiti a close second. The customs agent at the airport tried to take away my copy of a magazine giving oil production statistics and I felt shadowed the entire time I was there. It was a relief to fly to Kuwait.

One item of note involving the Middle East was an interview with the Shah of Iran in which I participated with 11 other journalists in New York in 1969. Walter Cronkite was one of them. It has become customary to deride the Shah in recent years, and I cannot comment about the megalomania that was said to have afflicted him later and caused him to lose touch. What I can say is that rarely if ever have I attended a more impressive performance. The Shah wanted to talk about agribusiness as well as defense, and for some 90 minutes he held forth in excellent English without a note, seemingly totally in command of his subject. He fielded questions with ease, and answered with apparent candor. I think all of us went away feeling that for whatever reason we had witnessed a real tour de force.

Let us now look at a few of the journalists of the day. A few minutes ago I mentioned Walter Lippmann and Scotty Reston, probably the two most influential Washington journalists of my time. Walter Lippmann was the unquestioned dean of American journalists, and his column "Today and Tomorrow" was must reading as much for its intellectual content as for any news it might contain. It really was a tightly reasoned essay. Lippmann was accustomed to being consulted by secretaries of state and even presidents. He knew everyone that mattered. You may have seen Ronald Steel's excellent biography, *Walter Lippman and the American Century*.

As a young editor on *The Washington Post* handling letters and columns, I once made the mistake of changing a comma in Lippmann's column. I heard about this sin promptly, and I never committed it again. But Walter also could be very kind, and he invited me to lunch and to his home on a number of occasions. He had the great initial advantage, for a journalist or most anyone, of having inherited a million dollars at the age of 21. It's amazing what that sort of financial security can do for one's confidence.

For the most part Lippmann was a liberal internationalist, but he did believe that American ground troops should not be committed to foreign wars. That brought complaints that he had reverted to isolationism, but it was consistent with his basic beliefs. Lippmann became disenchanted with Truman and welcomed Eisenhower, was

appalled by the yielding to McCarthy and often disagreed with Dulles. He could not abide Nixon, whom he regarded as ruthless and unprincipled. He liked Kennedy without swooning, but was repelled and appalled by Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policy. He actually broke publicly with the president, accusing LBJ of having lied to him.

Lippmann was not infallible, and occasionally he would persist in what I regarded as a wrong judgment. A complaint sometimes heard about his writing was that he always told you what you should have done. But with the test of time Lippmann stands up remarkably well. He had powerful insights and awesome influence as a journalist.

Scotty Reston was and is a quite different sort of person, more attuned to daily events and certainly less pretentious in writing about them. On the basis of past performance he could command almost any source, and this gave his writing an authority rarely equalled. He would leaven his serious columns with humor and an exceptionally effective way of driving home the point. Scotty certainly had, and continues to have even in retirement, and influence on policy because he is read and respected at the highest levels. It is noteworthy that his rise to fame came with his coverage of the Dumbarton Oaks conference that gave shape to the United Nations more than 45 years ago.

A third influential journalist of this era has been James Russell Wiggins, for many years editor of *The Washington Post* and since 1968 the guiding spirit behind *The Ellsworth American*, the best weekly in Maine and one of the very best in the United States. I am somewhat less than objective on this score because Russ has been my close friend for 43 years and was my colleague for more than 20. At 87 he is as near to being a renaissance man as I know. Phil Graham once said of him that he had the advantage of not having gone to college, which means that he has read more and been more intellectually active than almost anyone you can imagine. He can recite Tacitus from memory and has one of the most extensive private libraries on Thomas Jefferson in the Country. Russ came to Washington as a correspondent for the St. Paul Pioneer Press in the 1930s, and he has known most of the

commanding men and women in government from that time on. He shaped the course of *The Washington Post* for nearly two decades until his retirement in 1968, and he was instrumental in holding the paper together during the illness of Philip Graham until his widow, Katharine, took over as publisher.

Long after most of the rest of us had left the reservation, Russ remained an unreconstructed hawk on Vietnam. Although I disagreed with him, I had to respect the sincerity of his conviction. President Johnson, knowing that he intended to retire at the end of 1968 after his 65th birthday, appointed him U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations to succeed George Ball, and Russ spent a fascinated three-month stint at Turtle Bay. He made one interesting contribution to diplomatic history. Jacob Malik, a veteran of the Stalin era, was the Soviet permanent representative in 1968, and Russ used to see him at receptions and dinners. Once, in after-dinner conversation, Russ noted that he had always been puzzled why, at the outset of the Korean war, so experienced a diplomat as Malik would absent himself from the Security Council, thereby forgoing a possible Soviet veto and facilitating a crucial vote by the General Assembly to approve the sending of troops to Korea under a nominal United Nations command. Malik replied that he did it on orders from Stalin. Make what you will of that one.

It is time to come to the end of this discursive and sometimes not very well focused discussion. I have been privileged to be a minor chronicler during an extremely exciting period. Journalism, as has been well remarked, is at best no more than a first draft of history, subject to continual reevaluation and revision. It sometimes fails to attain full credibility because it lacks part of the discipline and scholarship of more academic professions. But I chose it as a career because I found its continually changing subject matter eternally fascinating, and the opportunity to contribute at least marginally toward the evolution of rounded truth immensely satisfying. The conviction that in the end an informed citizen will make the right choice is a bulwark of democratic society, and I have found it challenging to try to supply some of that information. I have never regretted my decision to be a journalist, and I hope I have left you with some understanding why.

THE VISION THING

by

Robert L. Beisner

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Now I know the meaning of the word "imperative," for that is how important it is to publish the document below. I could make numerous observations about it, including how it shows the libelous character of the accusation that Dean Acheson had low regard for congressmen. Surely high esteem for the sainted John McCormack must have opened the door through which the remarkable Mr. Diesing entered Acheson's Foggy Bottom office for this heretofore unknown cold war strategy conference. Rather than offer further observations, however, I merely urge readers familiar with Acheson to picture what might have been happening to his eyebrows and mustache while the importunate Mr. Diesing went on. Otherwise, as is (mistakenly) said, the document speaks for itself.

The source is U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: Memoranda of Conversation of the Secretary of State 1947-1952 (Microfiche Publication)*, ed. Evans Gerakas and William F. Sanford, Jr. (Editor in Chief, John P. Glennon), 1988, Fiche No.46.

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Memorandum of Conversation
DATE: April 9, 1952

SUBJECT: Predictions of Hostilities between the USSR
and the West in 1952

PARTICIPANTS: The Secretary
Mr. Gordon W. Diesing
W. Park Armstrong, Jr. - R[ecorder]

COPIES TO: G - Mr. Matthews
C - Mr. Bohlen
EE - Mr. Barbour

Mr. Diesing called on me at 12:15 PM, April 9, 1952, at the request of Congressman John McCormack of Massachusetts. He stated that he was an attorney and a member of the firm of Mecham, Stoehr, Moore, Mecham & Hills, in Omaha, Nebraska; that he is a Catholic, and has just returned from a trip to the Vatican where he had presented certain information to high officials of the Church. He said that the story which Mr. McCormack wished him to give me had already been presented to ex-Secretary of the Navy [Francis P.] Matthews, a prominent Catholic, to General [Alfred] Gruenther in Paris, and General [W. Lawton] Collins in Washington. He said that he had also told it to Under Secretary of Labor Galvin, who in turn had passed it to Secretary [Maurice J.] Tobin. In completing his introduction of the subject, he stated that he had a 10-minute film containing evidence to substantiate his remarks which he would be very glad to show and which he has promised to put on for General Collins upon the latter's return to Washington in a few weeks.

In brief, Mr. Diesing's story is that a young girl (now about 14 years old) in Denver, Colorado, has been for the last two years receiving visions similar to those experienced by Our Lady of Lourdes. In her periods of "suffering" the girl is visited by the Blessed Mother who apparently tells her and shows her things dealing with the future. He affirmed that the local Church authorities have employed every known means of determining whether the girl's visions are the product of her imagination, including the employment of psychologists and doctors, and are satisfied that such is not the case. The documentation of the girl's visions had been forwarded through the hierarchy of the Church to the Vatican for approval as a miracle. One of the phenomena which convinced the Church authorities of the authenticity of the miracle was the appearance on the girl some months ago of the stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi.

Mr. Diesing said that the important intelligence contained in the trance that the girl experienced from November 1st to November 4th 1951 in a vision of Our Lady concerned the imminence of a sudden attack by the USSR on the US during the year 1952. The effort of the enemy in the first instance, he said, would be to

paralyze the war industries of the US and then to over-run Western Europe. He asserted that this warning must be taken with the utmost seriousness in view of the accuracy of the predictive aspects of the girl's visions in the past, including the outbreak of war in Korea, the mishaps to US troops in Korea, etc. However, he believes that there will be a warning of about one month given to us through the girl before the actual hostile blow. He emphasized that the Catholic Church desires no publicity concerning these features of the girl's visions, but believes that warnings should be conveyed to the peoples of the world and that every conceivable defensive measure should be instituted. He stated that Congressman McCormack had the day before made a speech in which he had sounded a warning note for the record.

Mr. Diesing asked if I did not feel that he should tell his story to the President, and I replied that I did not think this would be necessary and would speak to the President about it myself. Mr. Diesing then said that he would be very glad to be appointed as a special assistant to myself to carry out a secret mission of conveying this most important information to the heads of other friendly governments, and he particularly mentioned Laurent of Canada and Churchill of England. I replied that I would consider the matter and get in touch with him if I thought that desirable.

Foreign Relations of the United States
 Production Status and Projections Chart (Abbreviated)
 October 27, 1992

The chart below is a shortened version of a chart prepared by the Office of the Historian at the Department of State. It is a comprehensive listing of all volumes of *FRUS* for the years 1958 and after that are currently in preparation or in planning. The full chart includes "Target" and "Completion" projections for Research and Compilation, PA/HO Review and Delivery to FPC/HDR, State Declassification Review/Appeal, Other Agency Declassification Review/Appeal, NSC Declassification Review, Final Clearance and Verification, as well as the sections appearing below, to wit, Final Editing, Publication, Print Pages and Fiche Pages. The format of the *SHAFR Newsletter* does not allow publishing the full document. It would be unreadable. We hope that the shortened document will be of value to SHAFR members.

- the editor

| Volume | Final Editing | | Publication | | Print Pages | Fiche Pages |
|--|---------------|-------|-------------|------|-------------|-------------|
| | Tgt. | Cpt. | Tgt. | Cpt. | | |
| 1946-50 Intelligence | 11/93 | | 9/94 | | 1520 | |
| 1946-50 (Supp.) Intelligence | 11/93 | | 9/94 | | | 1990 |
| 1953-54 (Supp.) Secretary's Memcons | 11/91 | 8/91 | 3/92 | 7/92 | | 2700 |
| 1955-57, XII Near East Regional | | 10/90 | 1/92 | 3/92 | 1068 | |
| 1955-57, XXIII (1) Japan | | 9/90 | 8/91 | 8/91 | 536 | |
| 1955-57, XXIII (2) Korea | 2/92 | 3/92 | 10/92 | | 450 | |
| 1955-57, XXVI Central & East Europe | 3/91 | 7/91 | 4/92 | 7/92 | 813 | |

| | Final Editing | | Publication | | Print Pages | Fiche Pages |
|--|---------------|-------|-------------|------|-------------|-------------|
| | | | | | | |
| 1955-57, XXVII Western Europe | 4/91 | 5/91 | 4/92 | 6/92 | 913 | |
| Totals: Pre-1958 | | | | | 5300 | 4690 |
| 1958-60, I Vietnam | | 7/85 | | 4/86 | 752 | |
| 1958-60, II UN: /General | | 11/89 | 2/91 | 2/91 | 936 | |
| 1958-60, III National Security | 10/92 | | 9/93 | | 800 | |
| 1958-60, III (Supp.) National Security | 10/92 | | 9/93 | | | 3200 |
| 1958-60, IV Foreign Economic Policy | 4/92 | 3/92 | 2/93 | | 792 | |
| 1958-60, V American Republics | | 8/90 | 5/91 | 7/91 | 919 | |
| 1958-60, V (Supp.) American Republics | | 8/90 | 12/91 | 3/92 | | 1761 |
| 1958-60, VI Cuba | | 12/89 | 4/91 | 5/91 | 1191 | |
| 1958-60, VII, Pt. 1 Western Europe: Reg. | 8/92 | 7/92 | 7/93 | | 825 | |
| 1958-60, VII, Pt. 2 Western Europe: Bilateral | 8/92 | 7/92 | 7/93 | | 890 | |
| 1958-60, VIII Berlin Crisis, 1958-59 | 7/92 | 9/92 | 5/93 | | 1000 | |
| 1958-60, IX Berlin Crisis, 1959-60 | 7/92 | 9/92 | 5/93 | | 960 | |
| 1958-60, X East. Europe: Cyprus | 2/93 | 9/92 | 12/93 | | 940 | |
| 1958-60, X (Supp.) East. Europe | 2/93 | 9/92 | 12/93 | | | 1241 |
| 1958-60, XI Lebanon-Jordan | 3/91 | 8/91 | 6/92 | 7/92 | 738 | |

| | Final Editing | | Publication | | Print Pages | Fiche Pages |
|---|---------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------------|
| | | | | | | |
| 1958-60, XI (Supp.) Lebanon-Jordan | 3/91 | 8/91 | 6/92 | 7/92 | | 1469 |
| 1958-60, XII Near East: Regional | 3/92 | 8/92 | 12/92 | | 820 | |
| 1958-60, XIII Near East: Arab-Is. | 3/91 | 4/91 | 3/92 | 4/92 | 907 | |
| 1958-60, XIV Africa | 3/92 | 2/92 | 11/92 | | 761 | |
| 1958-60, XV South & Southeast Asia | 9/91 | 7/91 | 8/92 | 11/92 | 1157 | |
| 1958-60, XV (Supp.) South & Southeast Asia | 9/91 | 7/91 | 8/92 | | | 3200 |
| 1958-60, XVI East Asia: Regional | 10/91 | 6/91 | 5/92 | 7/92 | 1031 | |
| 1958-60, XVI (Supp.) East Asia: Regional | 6/92 | | 1/93 | | | 829 |
| 1958-60, XVII Japan; Indonesia | 12/92 | | 10/93 | | 850 | |
| 1958-60, XVII (Supp.) Japan; Indonesia | 12/92 | | 10/93 | | | 2500 |
| 1958-60, XVIII China; Korea | 5/92 | 9/92 | 3/93 | | 1200 | |
| 1958-60, XVIII (Supp.) China; Korea | 5/92 | | 3/93 | | | 3250 |
| Totals: 1958-60 | | | | | 17459 | 17450 |
| 1961-63, I Vietnam, 1961 | | 5/87 | | 2/88 | 768 | |
| 1961-63, II Vietnam, 1962 | | 9/89 | | 11/90 | 798 | |
| 1961-63, III Vietnam, 1963 (1) | | 11/89 | 5/91 | 6/91 | 675 | |
| 1961-63, IV Vietnam, 1963 (2) | | 11/89 | 6/91 | 6/91 | 758 | |

| | Final Editing | | Publication | | Print Pages | Fiche Pages |
|--|---------------|--|--------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| 1961-63, V US-Soviet Relations | 3/94 | | 1/95 | | 750 | |
| 1961-63, VI National Security Policy | 4/93 | | 2/94 | | 700 | |
| 1961-63, VI (Supp.) National Security Policy | 4/93 | | See Below | | | 1050 |
| 1961-63, VII Arms Control | 9/93 | | 7/94 | | 1000 | |
| 1961-63, VII (Supp.) Arms Control | 9/93 | | See Below | | | 964 |
| 1961-63, VIII Economic-Financial Pol. | 4/94 | | 2/95 | | 800 | |
| 1961-63, VIII (Supp.) Economic-Financial Pol. | 4/94 | | See Below | | | 600 |
| 1961-63, IX UN/Humanitarian Affairs | 7/94 | | 5/95 | | 700 | |
| 1961-63, X Cuba, Jan '61-Sept '62 | 9/92 | | 6/93 | | 1035 | |
| 1961-63, XI Cuba, Oct '62-Dec '63 | 9/92 | | 6/93 | | 1075 | |
| 1961-63, XI (Supp.) Cuba | 9/92 | | 6/93 | | | 1345 |
| 1961-63, XII American Republics | 5/94 | | 3/95 | | 850 | |
| 1961-63, XII (Supp.) American Republics | 5/94 | | See Below | | | 950 |
| 1961-63, XIII Western Alliance | 6/93 | | 4/94 | | 1107 | |
| 1961-63, XIII (Supp.) Western Alliance | 6/93 | | 4/94 | | | 301 |
| 1961-63, XIV German Question '61-'62 | 5/93 | | 3/94 | | 705 | |
| 1961-63, XIV (Supp.) German Question '61-'62 | 5/93 | | See Below | | | 659 |

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| | Final Editing | | Publication | | Print Pages | Fiche Pages |
|--|----------------------|--|--------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1961-63, XV German Question '62-'63 | 10/93 | | 8/94 | | 725 | |
| 1961-63, XV (Supp.) German Question '62-'63 | 10/93 | | See Below | | | 504 |
| 1961-63, XVI Eastern Europe | 12/93 | | 10/94 | | 863 | |
| 1961-63, XVII Near East, 1961-62 | 1/94 | | 11/94 | | 800 | |
| 1961-63, XVIII Near East, 1962-63 | 6/94 | | 4/95 | | 800 | |
| 1961-63, XVIII (Supp.) Near East | 9/94 | | See Below | | | 1200 |
| 1961-63, XIX South Asia | 1/95 | | 11/95 | | 850 | |
| 1961-63, XX Congo Crisis | 8/93 | | 6/94 | | 1070 | |
| 1961-63, XX (Supp.) Congo | 8/93 | | See Below | | | 511 |
| 1961-63, XXI Africa | 8/94 | | 6/95 | | 600 | |
| 1961-63, XXI (Supp.) Africa | 8/94 | | See Below | | | 600 |
| 1961-63, XXII Northeast Asia (China) | 2/94 | | 12/94 | | 460 | 353 |
| 1961-63, XXII Northeast Asia (Jpn;Kor) | 2/94 | | 12/94 | | 400 | 176 |
| 1961-63, XXIII Southeast Asia | 7/93 | | 5/94 | | 1288 | |
| 1961-63, XXIV Laos Crisis | 1/93 | | 11/93 | | 1100 | |
| 1961-63, XXIV (Supp.) Laos | 1/93 | | See Below | | | 900 |
| 1961-63, XXV Admin of Foreign Affairs | 11/94 | | 9/95 | | 750 | |

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| | Final Editing | | Publication | | Print Pages | Fiche Pages |
|--|---------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|-------------|
| | | | | | | |
| 1961-63, (Supp.) NE Asia & Laos | | | 12/94 | | | [1500] |
| 1961-63, (Supp.) Europe | | | 1/95 | | | [1464] |
| 1961-63, (Supp.) Nat Sec/Arms Ctrl/Econ | | | 2/95 | | | [2614] |
| 1961-63, (Supp.) Am Republics | | | 3/95 | | | [950] |
| 1961-63, (Supp.) Near East & Africa | | | 7/95 | | | [2311] |
| Totals: 1961-63 | | | | | 21417 | 10113 |
| | | | | | | |
| 1964-68, I Vietnam, 1964 | 3/91 | 3/91 | 2/92 | 4/92 | 1065 | |
| 1964-68, II Vietnam, 1965 (1) | 3/93 | | 1/94 | | 900 | |
| 1964-68, III Vietnam, 1965 (2) | 3/93 | | 1/94 | | 750 | |
| 1964-68, IV Vietnam, 1966 | 4/95 | | 2/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, V Vietnam, 1967 | 11/96 | | 9/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, VI Vietnam, 1968 (1) | 11/96 | | 9/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, VII Vietnam, 1968 (2) | 11/96 | | 9/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, VIII Intl. Economic Policy | 7/95 | | 5/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, IX For. Assistance Pol. | 5/96 | | 3/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, X National Security Pol. | 4/96 | | 2/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XI Arms Control | 10/94 | | 8/95 | | 800 | |

| | Final Editing | | Publication | | Print Pages | Fiche Pages |
|--|---------------|--|-------------|--|----------------|----------------|
| 1964-68, XII Relations With USSR | 2/96 | | 12/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XIII W. Europe: Reg. | 2/95 | | 12/95 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XIV Berlin/German Question | 2/97 | | 12/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XV Czech Crisis/E. Europe | 1/96 | | 11/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XVI Cyprus Crisis; Gr/Turkey | 8/94 | | 6/95 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XVII Arab-Israel Disp, 1964-67 | 9/95 | | 7/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XVIII Six-Day War | 10/96 | | 8/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XIX Arab-Israel Disp. 1967-68 | 6/97 | | 4/98 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XX Arabian Peninsula | 12/96 | | 10/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXI Africa: Bilaterals | 9/96 | | 7/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXII Congo; Africa: Reg. | 8/95 | | 6/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXIII South Asia | 12/95 | | 10/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXIV SE Asia & Vietnam War | 12/95 | | 10/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXV Confrontation in SE Asia | 4/96 | | 2/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXVI Korea; Pueblo Incident | 1/96 | | 11/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXVII China; Japan | 3/95 | | 1/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXVIII Dominican Crisis | 7/96 | | 5/97 | | 800 | |

| | Final Editing | | Publication | | Print Pages | Fiche Pages |
|--|---------------|--|-------------|--|----------------|----------------|
| 1964-68, XXIX Cuba; The Caribbean | 7/97 | | 5/98 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXX Western Hemisphere | 6/95 | | 4/96 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXXI UN Affairs | 10/97 | | 8/98 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXXII Scientific/Human Affairs | 5/97 | | 11/98 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68, XXXIII Org. of US Foreign Pol. | 10/95 | | 8/96 | | 800 | |
| 1864-68 XXXIV W. Europe: Bilateral | 1/97 | | 11/97 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68 XXXV Laos | 2/95 | | 12/95 | | 800 | |
| 1964-68 XXXVI Mid-East Reg; Iran | 6/97 | | 4/98 | | 800 | |
| Totals: 1964-68 | | | | | 28115 | |

SHAFR COUNCIL MEETING

JUNE 20, 1992

PRESIDENT'S CONFERENCE ROOM

MAIN BUILDING, VASSAR

JOHN GADDIS PRESIDING

The meeting opened at 8 a.m. Council members present were John Gaddis, George Herring, Gary Hess, Linda Killen, Warren Kimball, Robert McMahon, Stephen Rabe, Michael Schaller, Robert Schulzinger and Allan Spetter. Others present were David Anderson, Kinley Brauer, Marc Gallicchio, Daniel Helmstadter, Joan Hoff, Michael Hogan, Richard Hopper, Mel Leffler, Kevin Simon and Betty Unterberger.

1. Marc Gallicchio reported to Council that the Holt Fellowship Committee had chosen Robert Brigham of the University of Kentucky to receive the award for 1992.
2. Betty Unterberger reported to Council about continuing conversations with Dr. Gerald Bernath, who is considering creation of a SHAFR fund in his own name. Council reached general agreement that such a fund could be used to support revision of the guide; publication of *Diplomatic History*; travel for American scholars doing research outside the country and foreign scholars doing research in the United States.
3. Council engaged in a lengthy discussion about renewal of the contract with Scholarly Resources to publish *Diplomatic History*. Council agreed to pay SR \$4,000 over two years to transfer the copyright to Vols. 1-14 of the *Diplomatic History*, removing the last obstacle to renewal of the contract.
4. Mel Leffler reported to Council that the University of Virginia will host the 1993 SHAFR Conference on June 17-20.
5. Michael Hogan, editor of *Diplomatic History*, asked Council to increase the funds available for copy editing from \$4,400 to \$6,500. He explained that one of two part-time copy editors was leaving, and he hoped to combine the two positions, paying for more hours for one copy editor. Council agreed.
6. Joan Hoff reported for the Publications Committee about ongoing efforts involving SHAFR's various publications.
7. Allan Spetter then reported to Council, emphasizing that with continually increasing costs for all operations and steady or declining income because of the dramatic drop in interest rates, SHAFR should increase dues for the first time in five years. Spetter suggested regular dues of \$25 and \$10 dues for all other categories — student, retired and unemployed — but explained it might be necessary to increase again in less than five years.

Council then voted to increase regular dues to \$30, with the understanding that SHAFR will make every effort to keep dues at that level for five years, and to increase the cost of Life Membership to \$300.

8. On the recommendation of President Gaddis, Council agreed to provide travel money when necessary for award recipients and to provide plaques or certificates for award winners.

9. Council passed a resolution of appreciation for David Anderson, chair of the program committee for the 1992 conference, the members of his committee, and Kevin Simon, who handled local arrangements.

The meeting adjourned at 11:00 a.m

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SHAFR Schedule for AHA

SHAFR is planning its usual functions at the annual meeting of the AHA. On Sunday, December 27, at 8:00 p.m. Council will meet in the Thomas Paine Room/Sheraton. The reception will be in the Capitol Room/Shoreham on Monday, December 28, from 5-7 p.m., and the SHAFR luncheon will be in Delaware Suite B/Sheraton from 12:15-1:45 p.m. on Tuesday, December 29. The luncheon speaker will be President John Gaddis, who will talk on "The Tragedy of the Cold War History."

Fellowships in Military History

The United States Army Center of Military History offers two fellowships each academic year to civilian graduate students preparing dissertations on subjects relating to the history of warfare on land, especially the history of

the U.S. Army. Possible topics include military biography, campaigns, military organization and administration, policy, strategy, tactics, training, technology, logistics, and civil-military-social relations. Each fellow receives an \$8,000 stipend and access to the Center's facilities and technical expertise. Applicants must be American citizens and have completed, by September 1992, all requirements for the Ph.D. except the dissertation. Interested candidates should contact Dr. Clayton Laurie, Executive Secretary, CMH Dissertation Fellowship Committee, U.S. Army Center of Military History, Franklin Court Building, 1099 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005-3402; tel. (202) 504-5364; fax (202) 504-5390. The deadline for applications and supporting documents is 1 February 1993.

Navy Symposium

The History Department of the U.S. Naval Academy will sponsor the eleventh international Naval History Symposium from 21 October to 23 October 1993. Proposals for individual papers or sessions in all fields and all areas of naval history, from ancient to recent, are welcomed. A volume of selected symposium papers is published biannually. Contact Robert W. Love, Jr., History Department, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, 21402-5044. Phone (410) 267-3125 or (410) 267-3803; fax (410) 267-3225. The deadline for proposals is 1 April 1993.

1993-94 Naval Historical Center: Fellowship, Grant, and Internship Opportunities

Established Scholars. The Center will make two **Research Grants**, named in honor of Vice Admiral Edwin B. Hooper, of up to \$2,500 each to individuals undertaking research and writing in the field of U.S. citizens. The deadline for submitting applications is February 28, 1993.

Doctoral Candidates. The Center will award the Rear Admiral John D. Hayes fellowship of \$8,000 to a pre-doctoral candidate who is undertaking research and writing on a dissertation in the field of U.S. naval history. Applicants must be U.S. citizens enrolled in an accredited graduate school who will have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. except the

dissertation by June 30, 1993. The deadline for applications is February 28, 1993.

History Majors. The Center welcomes internship applications from undergraduate history majors who wish to spend up to four weeks engaged in applied history projects in Washington Navy Yard. Limited funds are available to support living expenses. Historical research, archival, and curatorial assignments are available. Applications should be filed at least two months before the desired beginning date of the internship.

Applications forms for the research grant, pre-doctoral fellowship, and internship may be obtained by writing: Senior Historian, Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard Bldg. 57, Washington D.C. 20374-0571

AICGS/GHI Fellowships

The German Historical Institute and the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at Johns Hopkins offer three one-year resident research fellowships at different levels: post-doctoral (not less than \$25,000), junior (not less than \$30,000) and senior (not less than \$40,000). Historians and political scientists specializing in post-World War II German History and German-American relations, particularly the period 1945-1955, are eligible.

Fellows are expected to conduct research projects using archival resources of the Washington area, to conduct seminars and colloquia, and to deliver lectures at the institutes on the subject of their research.

Applications should be postmarked no later than January 1, 1993 and should be sent to: Director, German Historical Institute-USA, 1607 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009

Princeton Library Publishes Guide to Collection of World War II Records

Publications of "Princeton, Forward March!: A Guide to World War II Records at Princeton" marks the completion of a year-long project that

successfully processed more than 600 feet of records. The author of the guide is Melissa A. Johnson.

The book describes the library's 17 major collections, for which guides were written as part of the project. Johnson also identifies an additional 105 sets of records with significant war-related materials found in the university library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. In addition, the guide lists more than 600 doctoral dissertations, master's theses and senior theses written by Princeton students on various aspects of the war.

Included are materials prepared by such organization as the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, Fight for Freedom, United China Relief and the Council on Books in Wartime. A second area of strength is material documenting the role played by individuals in the military and economics spheres, including Bernard Baruch, Ferdinand Eberstandt and James Forrestal, as well as such organizations as Rubber Development corp.

The library also holds records of many of the key figures in the Council of Foreign Relations, which provided the government with a number of studies on such topics as mobilization, political refugees, postwar plans and Anglo-American relations. The public and other institutions may obtain copies for \$7 through the Mudd Library.

The Bosch Younger Scholars Program in the Social Sciences

The American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, is pleased to announce the third year of The Bosch Younger Scholars Program in the Social Sciences. The Program offers in-residence fellowships at the Institute in Washington D.C. for post-doctoral scholars who are in the process of transforming their dissertations into book manuscripts. Awards are for 6-12 months at \$1,700 a month, depending on the nature of the candidate's topic. In addition, consideration will be given to requests for research travel to Germany up to \$1,000. There is also a small budget for research expenses. Scholars will interact in discussions and colloquia with junior and senior fellows of the Institute as well as the Institute's Research Director. They also will be active

participants in the Institute's Seminar Series that regularly brings together scholars and practitioners from the U.S., Germany and Europe.

The Program seeks candidates in the social sciences whose work intersects with the research foci of the Institute, one of which is U.S. relations with a united Germany.

Applications should contain the following:

- a three-page summary of the research project including purpose, questions/hypotheses, methodology, and relationship to the traditional literature in the field, and time period for residency;
- a *curriculum vitae*, including previous positions, publications, awards and honors;
- an official graduate school transcript;
- three letters of recommendation, at least one of which should be from the principal dissertation advisor.

All materials must be received at the Institute, Suite 350, 11 Dupont Circle, NW, Washington, DC 20036, (tel: 202/332-9312) by February 15, 1993.

Announcements will be made by March 15, 1993, with fellowships commencing as early as September 1993 and no later than February 1994.

University of Connecticut Foreign Policy Seminar

The next meeting will hear Lloyd Gardner (Rutgers University) on "Lyndon B. Johnson and the Political Economy of American Foreign Policy" (December 4, 1992, at Suffolk University, Boston; Robert Hannigan at Suffolk is making the arrangements). On February 5, 1993, David W. McFadden of Fairfield University will discuss "Lenin's American Policy." On March 26, 1993, David Sheinin of Trent University (Canada) will present "Solving Latin America's Financial Problems: The International High Commission, 1914-1925." The latter two meetings will be held at the University of Connecticut in Storrs. Thomas G. Paterson of UConn Coordinates the seminar.

Peace Studies Summer Institute

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee will host a peace studies summer institute during the week of June 6-11, 1993. The Institute will describe the main academic tenets of peace studies and introduce this budding field to professors who would like to develop a program on their campuses. Topics to be covered include: what is peace studies; peace theory; politics and international relations; nonviolence; and strategies for peace. The Institute is sponsored by the Consortium for Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED), the Peace Studies Association, and Wisconsin Institute.

The institute coordinators have submitted a proposal to the U.S. Institute of Peace to help underwrite some of the costs. If the proposal is funded, the Institute will be free. If the proposal is not funded, the Institute will cost \$300 per person.

For more information please contact Dr. Ian Harris at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201, or call (414) 229-4724.

National Archives Prepares for Move

The National Archives will begin to move its collection in December of 1993 and the new facility known as Archives II will be open for research in 1994.

For purposes of the move, the textual records have been combined into record clusters. A record cluster is a collection of record groups relating to a common subject or program area. For example, the "Justice cluster" consists of RG 60, the General Records of the Department of Justice, RG 65, the Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, RG 129, the Records of the Bureau of Prisons, and other related record groups.

The move is scheduled by cluster. At the end of the move there will be eight records clusters at the National Archives Building in Washington, DC., and 18 records clusters in National Archives II at College Park, MD.

The clusters in Archives II and their move time frames are listed below:

Cluster

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Interior | January, 1994 - September, 1994 |
| Agriculture | January, 1994 - October, 1994 |
| Transportation | January, 1994 - July, 1994 |
| Commerce | January, 1994 - October, 1994 |
| Energy | July, 1994 - September, 1994 |
| Labor | September, 1994 - April, 1995 |
| State & Foreign Relations | September, 1994 - April, 1995 |
| Watergate S.P.F. | October, 1994 - December, 1994 |
| Independent Counsel | October, 1994 - December, 1994 |
| General Government | October, 1994 - April, 1995 |
| Justice | November, 1994 - May, 1995 |
| Science | December, 1994 - April, 1995 |
| Treasury | April, 1995 - December, 1995 |
| Executive Office of the President and Presidential Agencies | April, 1995 - June, 1995 |
| Health | April, 1995 - July, 1995 |
| Modern Army | April, 1995 - March, 1996 |
| Education | June, 1995 - September, 1995 |
| Air Force | July, 1995 - September, 1995 |
| Housing | September, 1995 - October, 1995 |
| Defense | October, 1995 - March, 1996 |

During the moves of the textual clusters, most records will be closed and reopened at the record group level. In other works, the whole cluster will not be closed for the whole time frame shown above; rather, the individual record groups within the cluster will be closed, moved, and then reopened to researchers.

The move schedule for some of the very large record groups will be segmented to reduce the closed periods: portions of the record group will be closed and moved to College Park, while other parts remain open for research at their old location or will be reopened at their new location.

The microfilm publications now available in the microfilm reading room at the National Archives Building will be divided between the two buildings. Microfilm going to Archives II will be moved at the time of the

move of the State & Foreign Relations cluster. Microfilm publications in the microfilm research rooms at each building will then reflect the textual holdings in each building.

Since many factors can cause changes in any move schedule, researchers should verify that there have been no significant changes in the move dates for the specific records they want to use. Researchers should write or call at least several weeks before traveling to Washington.

Write to the Textual Reference Division, Office of the National Archives, Washington, DC 20408, or telephone the Reference Services Branch at 202-501-5400.

PERSONALS

Kenton Clymer (Texas-El Paso) has been selected to hold the George Bancroft Chair at the University of Göttingen. The one year appointment began in October, 1992.

John Gaddis (Ohio), Samuel F. Wells (Wilson Center), Warren Cohen (Michigan State), and William Taubman are serving as an advisory board for the Cold War International History Project (CWIHP) established at the Woodrow Wilson Center in late 1991. The project seeks to disseminate new information and perspectives on the history of the Cold War emerging from previously inaccessible sources on "the other side" of the superpower rivalry that dominated international relations after World War II.

Ed Goedeken (Purdue) has taken a position as Humanities Bibliographer at Iowa State University effective in early December.

Melvyn Leffler (Virginia) made the short list of six authors whose books are being considered for the Lionel Gelber Prize.

Judith Munro-Leighton, a Ph.D candidate at the University of Kentucky, has been awarded a Truman Institute Dissertation Year

Fellowship in support of her dissertation on American policy toward post-World War II East Asia.

CALENDAR

1993

- January 1 Membership fees in all categories are due, payable at the national office of SHAFR.
- January 15 Deadline for the 1993 Bernath article award.
- February 1 Deadline for the 1993 Bernath book award.
- February 1 Deadline, materials for the March *Newsletter*.
- February 1 Submissions for Warren Kuehl Award are due.
- February 15 Deadline for the 1994 Bernath lecture prize.
- April 1 Applications for the W. Stull Holt dissertation fellowship are due.
- April 15-18 The 86th meeting of the Organization of American Historians will take place in Anaheim with headquarters at the Anaheim Hilton and Towers.
- May 1 Deadline, materials for the June *Newsletter*.
- June 17-20 The 19th annual meeting of SHAFR will take place at the University of Virginia.
- August 1 Deadline, materials for the September *Newsletter*.
- November 1 Deadline, materials for the December *Newsletter*.
- November 1-15 Annual election for SHAFR officers.
- November 1 Applications for Bernath dissertation fund awards are due.
- November 15 Deadline for SHAFR summer conference proposals.

There will be no December 1993 AHA meeting! The 108th annual meeting of the AHA will meet the first Thursday through Saturday after New Year's Day, 1994.

The OAH will meet at the Atlanta Hilton and Towers in Atlanta, April 14-17, 1994. The program co-chairs are Ellen DuBois and Steven Hahn. Send proposals to: Steven Hahn, Dept. of History, University of California-San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093. Deadline for proposals is February 15, 1993.

The OAH will meet at the Washington Hilton and Towers in Washington, March 30-April 2, 1995; and at the Palmer House Hilton in Chicago, March 28-31, 1996.

LETTERS

The following exchange is a response to the essay entitled "FDR's Day of Infamy: Fifty Years Later" by Frederick Marks III, which appeared in the September *Newsletter*. The editor regrets omitting portions of two sentences from the essay and a typo. I wish to apologize to Fred for these oversights. In an effort to leave no further confusion we reprint portions of the Marks' essay below with corrections in bold print. We follow this by a letter from Gerhard L. Weinberg and a response from Marks.

[The following is the corrected paragraph which appeared on pages 38-39. - editor]

Two months later, after Hitler had crushed France and commenced his bombing of England, Roosevelt revived the idea of a non-aggression pact. He resumed talks and through his press secretary Steve Early announced that he envisioned a world of three Monroe Doctrines — one for the western hemisphere, one for Europe (presumably with Nazi Germany as arbiter), and one for the Far East (implying Japanese hegemony). The following day, however, FDR executed a typical 180° turn, flatly repudiating his

proposals and thereby sending still another round of talks off into nowhere. The final absurdity took place in 1941 when Roosevelt forced Japan's hand by cutting off her oil, without which she could not live. I say "absurdity" because he was so obviously determined to prevent the ensuing round of negotiations from reaching fruition. Virtually every step forward taken by Tokyo was met by a backward step on the part of Washington, and with the usual signs of contradiction. Roosevelt proposed a summit conference and then a *modus vivendi* only to renege in each case once Prince Konoye had committed himself. Thus did he succeed in bringing down a third Japanese government. What is interesting is that the circumstances of American duplicity attending the fall of the governments of General Abe and Prince Konoye in 1940-41 are practically a carbon copy of those surrounding the fall of Saito. In fact, the first performance may almost be viewed as a dress rehearsal for those that followed, so striking is the resemblance. The surprise here is not so much that war came in 1941, but rather that it did not come earlier. By the same token, FDR's behavior in 1941, which is easily obscured by the smokescreen of last-minute events, becomes more intelligible when seen as part of a consistent pattern of stalling and prevarication dating to 1933.

[The paragraph below which was on page 41 contained a typo. It read job, rather than jog. - editor]

It made no difference that virtually all of the president's advisers counseled more emphasis on defense — Hornbeck, Baruch, Davis, Grew, Hull, and others. Hull even offered to help jog Congress for the necessary funds. Nor did it make any difference that New Deal reform legislation was safely in the bag or that FDR won reelection by a landslide in 1936 or that American military feebleness scandalized our overseas allies as much as it tempted potential adversaries. President Roosevelt remained resolutely insistent on inaction. He even went so far as to chide the British in 1937 for what he termed a "rearmament complex." The conclusion seems inescapable, therefore, that it was FDR, and FDR alone, who sabotaged the nation's chance for preparedness.

To Editor

October 16, 1992

Others will no doubt write to counter the apologia for Japanese imperialism in Frederick W. Marks III piece on FDR in the September 1992 Newsletter. I would like to comment on an extraordinary sentence which suggests that the author is in need of some further research. He asserts on p. 40 that "We all know that Hitler's decision to invade Poland was taken in the face of resistance by the German high command, just as Tojo's gamble in the Pacific ran counter to the advice of the Japanese admiralty." The second part of the sentence flies in the face of the long-since published evidence on the subject. The first part is the exact opposite of the truth. With the exception of a few officers in German military intelligence, the men of the German high command were all in favor of an attack on Poland. Far from resisting such a course, they had looked forward to such an attack for years. Even those who opposed Hitler on other issues were generally in favor of invading Poland. One of the leading figures in the resistance to Hitler, General Edouard Wagner, who lost his life in the coup attempt of July, 20, 1944, wrote his wife at the time about his enthusiasm for the invasion of Poland.

Gerhard L. Weinberg

To Editor

October 28, 1992

I respect Professor Weinberg's scholarship. While I would have to see the evidence he has in mind regarding Japan to know whether I would agree with him, he is correct on Germany. I was unclear (and perhaps wrong in a literal sense). My point, though, is that neither the German army nor the German navy wanted all-out war. Leading generals such as von Fritsch, von Blomberg, and Beck had consistently championed a low-risk policy: on occupation of the Rhineland, rapid airforce rebuilding, and the use of force in

connection with Austria and Czechoslovakia. Those who spoke out were made to disappear and replaced by underlings. By 1939, Hitler was on a roll, riding a wave of political victories. His gambles had paid off and his subordinates were hardly in a position to express opposition. I still believe, however, that if Berlin's fortunes had been in the hands of Admiral Raeder and representative elements of the army, Germany would not have gone on the offensive when it did. Needless to say, too, my larger point stands: namely, that if the United States had been a strong man armed, rather than a weakling in the eyes of military strategists, this would doubtless have affected the balance of decision-making in both Western Europe and the Far East.

Frederick W. Marks III

ABSTRACTS

Reinhard R. Doerries (Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg), "Woodrow Wilson and the American Impact on World War I." Conference: "The Legacies of Woodrow Wilson," The Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C., April 17, 1991.

The paper, recognizing the extraordinary contribution of Arthur S. Link to the understanding of and research on Woodrow Wilson, especially through the incomparably meticulous edition of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, reviewed Wilson's German policy prior to and following the beginning of World War I. The point is made that the American president reacted with great restraint to the challenge of the German Empire. Only after Germany left him no choice, did Wilson take the U.S. into war in the spring of 1917. German strategy had prevented him from fulfilling his desired role as a mediator, and it was German strategy which now forced him to accept the unlikely role as a mediator, and it was German strategy which now forced him to accept the unlikely role of Supreme Commander.

----, "Tracing Kurt Jahnke: Aspects of the Study of German Intelligence," in George O. Kent, ed., *Historians and Archivists* (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1991).

The paper covers aspects of German intelligence history in the 20th century, illustrating elements of continuity by following the strange career of Germany's top agent in the United States during World War I. While Karl Boy-Ed, Franz von Papen and Franz Rintelen have often been connected with the essentially unsuccessful German underground war in the U.S., Jahnke has received only minor attention. In contrast to historians in Britain and the U.S. who have made considerable efforts to include intelligence in their consideration of the developments of this century, German historians have been unduly modest in their attempts to uncover covert activities.

----, "Diplomacy and War: The Case of Imperial Germany's Challenge to Woodrow Wilson's America," in Franz Gress and Hans Vorländer, eds., *Liberale Demokratie in Europa und den USA* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 1990).

A brief review of the insufficiencies of Imperial German foreign policy and the consequences for the United States argues that inexperienced propagandists and incautious sabotage operations did little to improve Berlin's standing in the U.S. Combined with German efforts to prevent Woodrow Wilson from mediating between the warring powers, they helped to pave the way for America's entry into the war in 1917.

Geoffrey S. Smith (Queen's), "National Security and Personal Isolation: Sex, Gender, and Disease in the Cold-War United States," *The International History Review*, 14 (May 1992), 307-337: The article assesses the centrality of questions of gender and sexuality during the cold war, relating these to the development of the national security state and its utilization of medical metaphors to describe and combat totalitarian communism. American leaders in the postwar world moved to reassert conventions of prewar life, in particular those related to masculinity, femininity, and the family. These conventions became weapons in the war against the godless

Soviets. The triad of communism, disease, and sexual perversion was often joined in popular security discourse, as communists, along with gays, lesbians, and women who would seek careers were seen as proselytizing efficiently among the disgruntled, the downtrodden, the emotionally unstable, and the young. All three groups threatened prevailing gender and sexual norms--and the nation's safety. In the name of democracy and the American Way, such groups were explicitly or effectively placed outside the law and painted as subversives and security risks.

Howard Jones (Alabama), "Mistaken Prelude to Vietnam: The Truman Doctrine and 'A New Kind of War' in Greece," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 10 (May 1992), 121-143: In 1965, Washington's policymakers drew the wrong lessons from history in using the Truman Doctrine in Greece to justify America's deepening military involvement in Vietnam. The Greek experience proved to be a faulty model for dealing with alleged Communist-inspired insurrections. The Athens government defeated the insurgency only in part because of the United States's limited intervention. Not only was Soviet complicity in the upheaval minimal at best, but the insurgents exposed themselves to superior Greek firepower by switching to conventional tactics at a crucial time in the war. In addition, Yugoslavia's rift with the Soviet Union led Tito to close his country's borders and to deny continued refuge to the insurgents. The Greek armed forces, aided by American napalm and Navy Helldivers, put down the insurgency in 1949. The Johnson administration, however, erroneously believed that American military power had brought victory in Greece and, therefore, sought a military solution in Vietnam. The result was a near disaster.

David W. McFadden (Fairfield), "Bolsheviks, Americans, and Economic Diplomacy, 1918-1920," New England Historical Association Spring Meeting, April 18-19, 1991: Burgeoning Soviet-American trade of the 1920s, facilitated by Lenin's New Economic Policy and the hands-off-American business attitude of successive U.S. Republican administrations, actually began several years earlier. While Woodrow Wilson's administration struggled to

define a clear and consistent policy toward the Bolsheviks, official and semi-official American representatives, led by Commercial Attache William C. Huntington and American Red Cross Representative Raymond Robins began economic discussions with Bolshevik commissars Yuri Larin, Jacob Bronskii, and occasionally, V.I. Lenin. The scope of their discussions began to define the possibilities of trade, concessions, and currency exchange which prefigured later contracts signed between u.S. businesses and the Bolshevik government. Lenin and the Bolsheviks had begun to frame an economic strategy for the United States in the Supreme Council of the National Economy (VSNKh) as early as February, 1918. It emerged fully developed in the economic and political mission of Ludwig C. A.K. Martens as Soviet representative to New York early in 1919.

This mission, usually remembered for its role in the Red Scare investigations of the U.S. Senate and the State Legislature of New York, actually paved the way for Soviet-American trade of the 1920s by establishing a wide range of economic and technical contacts with American businesses and signing nearly 100 tentative contracts.

This paper explores the full range of this economic discussion and exchange, from tentative contacts in February, 1918 to the departure of the Martens Mission. It utilizes substantial new materials from the Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvenni arkhiv narodnogo khozhaistvo (TsGANKH), the Central Government Archive of the National Economy of the USSR in Moscow, supplemented by British Secret Service intercepts in the Lloyd George Papers, the Frank Mason, Harold Kellock and Maurice Laserson Papers at the Hoover Institution, the Raymond Robins Papers, David R. Francis Papers, Samuel N. Harper Papers, and the confiscated files of the Martens Soviet Russian Information Bureau in the Lusk Committee Archives, New York State Library.

Frederick W. Marks III, "Prelude to Pearl Harbor: The Diplomatic Dress Rehearsal," : It is time for students of the Pacific War — Japanese and Americans alike — to stop pointing the finger at Tokyo. FDR not only misrepresented his diplomatic intentions,

in effect breaking a long string of promises to Nippon and bringing down three ministries; he also treated Japanese officials with exaggerated suspicion and scorn while at the same time allowing U.S. defenses to atrophy. Rearmament, which lay well within reach politically, judging from public opinion polls and Congressional sentiment, would almost surely have acted as a deterrent to hostilities. But the president consistently thumbed his nose at advocates of preparedness both at home and abroad. Finally, he made a completely false issue of Japanese imperialism. Basing his diplomacy on caricature, instead of reality, he wound up sabotaging any and all chances for peace. Japan was forced into a war it did not want, and the United States had to fight on two fronts.

PUBLICATIONS

Stephen E. Ambrose (New Orleans) and Günter Bischof (New Orleans, Lakefront), *Eisenhower and the German POWs: Facts Against Falsehood*. Louisiana State, 1992. ISBN 0-0071-1758-7, \$24.95.

Robert L. Beisner (American), *Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898-1900*. Imprint Publications, 1992. New in paper, ISBN 1-879176-10-6, \$15.95.

Günter Bischof (New Orleans, Lakefront) and Anton Pelinka, eds., *Austria in the New Europe*. Transaction, 1993. ISBN 1-56000-597-1, \$30.

Douglas Brinkley (New College, Hofstra), *Dean Acheson: The Cold War Years, 1953-71*. Yale, 1992. ISBN 04773-8 \$35.

Jeff Broadwater (Barton), *Eisenhower and the Anti-Communist Crusade*. North Carolina, 1992. ISBN 0-8078-2015-6, \$34.95. (This notice was incorrectly listed in the June Newsletter.)

Gordon Chang (Stanford), *Friends and Enemies: The United States, China, and the Soviet Union*. Stanford, 1992. ISBN 0-0047-1957-8, New in paper, \$14.95.

Charles Chatfield (Wittenberg), *The American Peace Movement*. Twayne, 1991. Cloth, ISBN 0-0057-3851-7, \$24.95; paper, ISBN 0-0057-3852-5, \$12.95.

Nicholas R. Clifford (Middlebury), *Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s*. U. Press of New England, 1991. ISBN 0-87451-548-3, \$45.00.

Frank Costigliola (Rhode Island), *France and the U.S.* Twayne, 1992. Cloth, ISBN 0-0057-7902-7-C, \$27.95; paper, ISBN 0-0057-9205-8 \$12.95.

Bruce Cumings (Chicago), *The Origins of the Korean War: Volume II The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950*. Princeton, 1992. New in paper, ISBN 0-691-02538-x, \$24.95.

Robert Dallek (California), *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908-1960*. Oxford, 1992. New in paper, ISBN 507904-3, \$13.56.

Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana-emeritus), *Ill-Advised: Presidential Health and Public Trust*. University of Missouri, 1992. ISBN 0-8262-0864-9, \$19.95.

Nancy Fogelson (Cincinnati, OH), *Arctic Exploration & International Relations: 1900-1932*. Alaska, 1992. Paper, ISBN 0-912006-61-7, \$15.00.

Joseph A. Fry (UNLV), *John Tyler Morgan and the Search for Southern Autonomy*. University of Tennessee, 1992. ISBN 0-87049-753-7, \$34.95.

Jonathan Goldstein (West Georgia), Jerry Israel, and Hilary Conroy, eds., *America Views China: American Images of China Then and Now*. Lehigh U. Press, 1991. ISBN 0-934223-13-0, \$47.50.

Carl C. Hodge (Okanagan) and Cathal J. Nolan (British Columbia) eds., *Shepherd of Democracy? America and Germany in the Twentieth Century*. Greenwood, 1992. ISBN 0-313-27945-4, \$47.95.

Richard Immerman (Temple) ed., *John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War*. Princeton, 1992. New in paper, ISBN 0-691-00622-9, \$14.95.

Akira Iriye (Harvard), *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American-East Asian Relations*. Revised edition. Imprint Publications, 1992. Cloth, ISBN 1-879176-08-4, \$45.00; paper, ISBN 1-879176-07-6, \$19.95.

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones (Edinburgh) and Andrew Lownie eds., *North American Spies: New Revisionist Essays*. Kansas, 1992. ISBN 0-7006-0525-8, \$40.

Howard Jones (Alabama), *The Union in Peril: the Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War*. North Carolina, 1992. ISBN 0-8078-2048-2, \$34.95.

Howard Jones (Alabama) ed., *Safeguarding the Republic: Essays and Documents in American Foreign Relations, 1890-1991*. McGraw-Hill, 1992. ISBN 0-07-033016-6, \$26.95.

Stephen Kneeshaw (C. of the Ozarks), *In Pursuit of Peace: The American Reaction to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, 1928-1929*. Garland, 1991. ISBN 0-8240-1895-8, \$62.00.

Robert P. Newman (Pittsburgh), *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China*. California, 1992. Cloth, ISBN 0-520-07388-6-C, \$35.00.

John Offner (Shippensburg), *An Unwanted War: The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain over Cuba, 1895-1898*. North Carolina, 1992. Cloth, ISBN 0-8078-2038-5, \$39.95; paper, ISBN 0-8078-4380-6, \$14.95.

Robert A. Pastor (Emory), *Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean*. Princeton, 1992. Cloth, ISBN 0-691-08651-6, \$24.95; paper ISBN 0-691-0261-4, \$12.95.

Thomas G. Paterson (Connecticut) and Stephen C. Rabe (Texas - Dallas), *Imperial Surge: The United States Abroad, 1890s-Early 1900s*. D.C. Heath, 1992. Paper, ISBN 0-669-26915-8, \$10.

-----, *On Every Front: The Making and Unmaking of the Cold War*. Norton, 1992. Revised edition, ISBN 0-393-03060-1, \$24.95.

Leo Ribuffo (George Washington), *Right Center Left: Essays in American History*. Rutgers, 1992. ISBN 0-8135-1775-3, \$45.

Jerel A. Rosati (South Carolina), *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1993. ISBN 0-03-047024-2, about \$22.00.

Michael Schaller (Arizona), *Reckoning With Reagan: America and Its President in the 1980s*. Oxford, 1992. ISBN 0-19-506915-3, \$19.95.

Melvin Small (Wayne State) and William D. Hoover eds., *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*. Syracuse, 1992. Cloth, ISBN 0-8156-2558-8, \$34.95.

Geoffrey S. Smith, *To Save a Nation: American 'Extremism,' the New Deal, and the Coming of World War II*. (Rev. ed., with a new epilogue by the author, bringing the story of "extremism" to the present day). Ivan R. Dee-Elephant Paperbacks, 1992. Paper, ISBN 0-929587-97-9, \$12.95.

Stephen J. Valone (St. John Fisher), *A Policy Calculated to Benefit China: The United States and the China Arms Embargo, 1919-1929*. Greenwood, 1991. ISBN 0-313-27621-8, \$42.95.

William O. Walker III (Ohio Wesleyan), *Drug Control Policy: Essays in Historical and Comparative Perspective*. Penn State, 1992. Paper, ISBN 0-271-00843-1, \$13.95.

William Earl Weeks (San Diego State), *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire*. Kentucky, 1992. ISBN 0-8131-1779-8, \$29.00

Christine A. White (Penn. State) *Anglo-American Commercial Relations with Soviet Russia, 1918-1924*. North Carolina, 1992. ISBN 0-80782033-4, \$39.95

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(Occasional Papers Series, No. 18. Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament, Calif. State University, Los Angeles, 1990), 91pp. Written and compiled by *Joe P. Dunn.*

These bibliographical essays critically review the literature of the Vietnam conflict generally, and include specific sub-themes such as "The Vietnam War and Women" and "The Vietnam War and POWs/MIAs." The final essay provides suggestions for a syllabus of an interdisciplinary course focusing on the U.S.'s Vietnam experience.

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DESCRIPTION: This is a competition for a book dealing with any aspect of the history of American foreign relations. The purpose of the award is to recognize and encourage distinguished research and writing by scholars of American foreign relations.

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Books may be sent at any time during 1992, but should not arrive later than February 1, 1993.

The prize will be divided only when two superior books are so evenly matched that any other decision seems unsatisfactory to the committee. The committee will not award the prize if there is no book in the competition which meets the standards of excellence established for the prize. The 1992 award of \$2,000.00 will be announced at the annual luncheon of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations held in conjunction with the Organization of American Historians' annual meeting in April, 1993.

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PROCEDURES: The Bernath Lecture Committee is soliciting nominations for the lecture from members of the Society. Nominations, in the form of a short letter and *curriculum vita*, if available, should reach the Committee no later than February 15, 1993. The chairperson of the committee to whom nominations should be sent is: Kinley Brauer, Department of History, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455.

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The purpose of the prize is to recognize and to encourage distinguished research and writing by young scholars in the field of diplomatic relations.

ELIGIBILITY: Prize competition is open to any article or essay appearing in a scholarly journal or edited book, on any topic in United States foreign relations that is published during 1992. The author must not be over 40 years of age, or, if more than 40 years of age, must be within ten years of receiving the Ph.D. at the time of acceptance for publication. The article or essay must be among the first six publications by the author. Previous winners of the Stuart L. Bernath Book Award are excluded.

PROCEDURES: All articles appearing in *Diplomatic History* shall be automatically considered without nomination. Other nominations shall be submitted by the author or by any member of SHAFR by January 15, 1993. Three (3) copies of the article shall be submitted to the chairperson of the committee: Klaus Schwabe, Hasselholzer Weg 133. 5100 Aachen, Germany.

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Applications should be sent to: Henry William Brands, Department of History, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas 77843. The deadline is November 1, 1992.

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PREVIOUS WINNERS

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The Society of Historians for American Foreign Relations is pleased to invite applications from qualified doctoral candidates whose dissertations are in the field of the history of American foreign relations. This fellowship is intended to help defray costs of travel, preferably foreign travel, necessary to the pursuit of research on a significant dissertation project. Qualified applicants will have satisfactorily completed comprehensive doctoral examinations before April 1992, leaving only the dissertation as the sole, remaining requirement for the doctoral degree.

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addition, three letters from graduate teachers familiar with the work of the applicant, including one from the director of the applicant's dissertation, are required.

Applications and supporting papers should be sent before April 1, 1993 to: Wilton Fowler, Department of History, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195.

The Holt Memorial Fellowship carries an award of \$1,500.00. Announcement of the recipient of the Holt Memorial Fellowship will be made at the Society's annual summer meeting. At the end of the fellowship year the recipient of the fellowship will be required to report to the Committee relating how the fellowship was used.

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THE NORMAN AND LAURA GRAEBNER AWARD

The Graebner Award is to be awarded every other year at SHAFR's summer conference to a senior historian of United States foreign relations whose achievements have contributed most significantly to the fuller understanding of American diplomatic history.

CONDITIONS OF THE AWARD: The Graebner prize will be awarded, beginning in 1986, to a distinguished scholar of diplomatic and international affairs. It is expected that this scholar would be 60 years of age or older. The recipient's career must demonstrate excellence in scholarship, teaching, and/or service to the profession. Although the prize is not restricted to academic historians, the recipient must have distinguished himself or herself through the study of international affairs from a historical perspective.

Applicants, or individuals nominating a candidate, are requested to submit three (3) copies of a letter which:

- (a) provides a brief biography of the candidate, including educational background, academic or other positions held and awards and honors received;
- (b) lists the candidate's major scholarly works and discusses the nature of his or her contribution to the study of diplomatic history and international affairs;
- (c) describes the candidate's career, lists any teaching honors and awards, and comments on the candidate's classroom skills; and

- (d) details the candidate's services to the historical profession, listing specific organizations and offices, and discussing particular activities.

Chairman: Waldo Heinrichs, Dept. of History, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122.

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1986 Dorothy Borg (Columbia)
1988 Alexander DeConde (UC-Santa
Barbara)

1990 Richard W. Leopold
(Northwestern)
1991 Bradford Perkins (Michigan)

THE WARREN F. KUEHL AWARD

The Society will award the Warren F. Kuehl Prize to the author or authors of an outstanding book dealing with the history of internationalism and/or the history of peace movements. The subject may include biographies of prominent internationalists or peace leaders. Also eligible are works on American foreign relations that examine United States diplomacy from a world perspective and which are in accord with Kuehl's 1985 presidential address to SHAFR. That address voiced an "appeal for scholarly breadth, for a wider perspective on how foreign relations of the United States fits into the global picture."

The award will be made every other year at the SHAFR summer conference. The next award will be for books published in 1991 and 1992. Deadline for submissions is February 1, 1993. One copy of each submission should be sent to each member of the selection committee:

Harold Josephson
Dept. of History
UNC-Charlotte
Charlotte, NC 28223
Previous Winners:

Lawrence Kaplan
Dept. of History
Kent State University
Kent, OH 44242

Lester Langley
Dept. of History
University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602

1987 Harold Josephson (North Carolina-Charlotte)
1989 Melvin Small (Wayne State)
1991 Charles DeBenedetti (deceased) and Charles Chatfield (Wittenberg)

**ARTHUR LINK PRIZE
FOR DOCUMENTARY EDITING**

The inaugural Arthur S. Link Prize For Documentary Editing was awarded at the American Historical Association meeting in December 1991. The prize will be offered hereafter whenever appropriate but no more often than every three years. Eligibility is defined by the following excerpt from the prize rules.

The prize will recognize and encourage analytical scholarly editing of documents, in appropriate published form, relevant to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and diplomacy. By "analytical" is meant the inclusion (in headnotes, footnotes, essays, etc.) of both appropriate historical background needed to establish the context of the documents, and interpretive historical commentaries based on scholarly research. The competition is open to the editor/author(s) of any collection of documents published after 1984 that is devoted primarily to sources relating to the history of American foreign relations, policy, and/or diplomacy; and that incorporates sufficient historical analysis and interpretation of those documents to constitute a contribution to knowledge and scholarship. Nominations may be made by any person or publisher. The award is \$500 plus travel expenses to the professional meeting where the prize is presented. For all rules and details contact the committee chair. One copy of each entry should be sent directly to each member of the committee.

M. Giunta, Act. Dir.
NHRPC
Washington, DC 20408

Justus Doenecke
New College, U. of S.
Florida
Tampa, FL 33620

George Herring
Dept. of History
Univ. of Kentucky
Lexington, KY 40506

PREVIOUS WINNER

1991 Justus Doenecke (New College, Univ. of S. Florida)

THE ARMIN RAPPAPORT FUND

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations established this fund in 1990 to honor Armin Rappaport, the founding editor of the Society's journal, *Diplomatic History*. The fund will support the professional work of the journal's editorial office. It was initiated by Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, who donated earnings from their book, *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, and by the authors of essays in this book, who waived fees. Further donations are invited from authors, SHAFR members, and friends. Please send contributions in any amount to Professor Allan Spetter, SHAFR Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Department of History, Wright State University, Dayton, OH 45435.

ROBERT H. FERRELL BOOK PRIZE

This is competition for a book, published in 1992, which is a history of American Foreign Relations, broadly defined, and includes biographies of statesmen and diplomats. General surveys, autobiographies, or editions of essays and documents are not eligible. The prize of \$1,000 is to be awarded as a senior

book award; that is, any book beyond the first monograph by the author. The deadline for submission of books is February 1, 1993.

Books may be nominated by the author, the publisher, or by any member of SHAFR. A letter of nomination should be sent to the Ferrell Prize committee chairman, and a copy of the book should be sent directly to each member of the committee at the addresses listed below.

William Kamman,
Chair, Ferrell Prize
Department of History,
U. of North Texas,
Denton, TX 76203

Joyce Goldberg
Department of History
U. of Texas-Arlington
Arlington, TX 76019

Ted Wilson
Department of History
U. of Kansas
Lawrence, KS 66045

PREVIOUS WINNERS:

1992 David Anderson (Indianapolis) and Diane Kunz (Yale)

The SHAFR Newsletter

SPONSOR: Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville, Tennessee.
EDITOR: William J. Brinker, History, Tennessee Technological U.
EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Nanci Long and Dana Mason.

ADDRESS CHANGES: Send changes of address to the Executive Secretary-Treasurer: Allan Spetter, Wright State University, Dayton, OH 45435.

BACK ISSUES: The *Newsletter* was published annually from 1969 to 1972, and has been published quarterly since 1973. Copies of most back numbers of the *Newsletter* may be obtained from the editorial office for \$1.00 per copy (for members living abroad, the charge is \$2.00).

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION: The *Newsletter* solicits the submission of personals, announcements, abstracts of scholarly papers and articles delivered or published upon diplomatic subjects, bibliographical or historiographical essays, essays of a "how-to-do-it" nature, information about foreign depositories, biographies, autobiographies of "elder statesmen" in the field, jokes, *et al.* Papers and other submissions should be typed and the author's name and full address should be noted. The *Newsletter* accepts and encourages submissions on IBM-formatted 5 ¼" or 3 ½" diskettes. A paper submitted in WordPerfect is preferred but may be in one of the following formats: WordStar 3.3, MultiMate, Word 4.0, DisplayWrite, Navy DIF Standard, or IBM DCA format. A hardcopy of the paper should be included with the diskette. The *Newsletter* goes to the printer on the 1st of March, June, September, and December; all material submitted for publication should arrive at least four weeks prior.

FORMER PRESIDENTS OF SHAFR

| | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1968 Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford) | 1980 David M. Pletcher (Indiana) |
| 1969 Alexander DeConde (CA-Santa Barbara) | 1981 Lawrence S. Kaplan (Kent State) |
| 1970 Richard W. Leopold (Northwestern) | 1982 Lawrence E. Gelfand (Iowa) |
| 1971 Robert H. Ferrell (Indiana) | 1983 Ernest R. May (Harvard) |
| 1972 Norman A. Graebner (Virginia) | 1984 Warren I. Cohen (Michigan State) |
| 1973 Wayne S. Cole (Maryland) | 1985 Warren F. Kuehl (Akron) |
| 1974 Bradford Perkins (Michigan) | 1986 Betty Unterberger (Texas A&M) |
| 1975 Armin H. Rappaport (CA-San Diego) | 1987 Thomas G. Paterson (Connecticut) |
| 1976 Robert A. Divine (Texas) | 1988 Lloyd Gardner (Rutgers) |
| 1977 Raymond A. Esthus (Tulane) | 1989 George Herring (Kentucky) |
| 1978 Akira Iriye (Chicago) | 1990 Michael Hunt (North Carolina) |
| 1979 Paul A. Varg (Michigan State) | 1991 Gary Hess (Bowling Green) |